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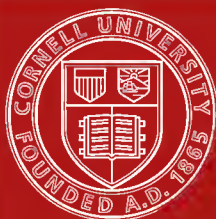
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ENGLISH POLITICAL PARTIES  
AND LEADERS  
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE  
1702-1710

BY  
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THIS ESSAY WAS AWARDED THE HERRERT BAXTER ADAMS PRIZE  
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TO THE MEMORY OF  
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## PREFACE

THE Age of Anne is one of the most interesting in English history. It was a reign when political parties were in such a state of flux that politicians changed sides with little hesitation; when periodicals began to play a transcendent part in politics; when pamphleteering became the customary method of changing public opinion; when literary men were usually politicians first of all; when ecclesiastical policies were determined by political exigencies, and church offices considered as a part of the civil service; when monied men began to take a greater interest in elections and play a larger part in determining national policies; when the cabinet was rapidly evolving into its present form; when the Protestant succession hung in the balance; when Scotland joined her southern sister in a firm alliance; when hatred of France became almost a religion; and when the United Kingdom gained the political and commercial hegemony of Europe that was lost by France at the treaty of Utrecht.

Yet in spite of the interest and importance of this period it has been almost entirely neglected by serious historians for more than a generation. Nearly a half century ago Mahon and Wyon wrote their histories of the reign of Anne, and since that time no attempt has been made to deal with the history of the reign in the light of new materials that have recently become accessible. Even such industrious German scholars as Klopp, Salomon, and Von Noorden have done little to illuminate the domestic side of the first half of the reign, while the more recent of their works is nearly thirty years from the

press. Lecky's excellent history deals most cavalierly with the first decade of the century, and is now more than forty years old. Burton's three volumes are sketchy and of little value save for Scottish affairs. The books of Paul, McCarthy, and Mrs. Howitt are pre-eminently popular rather than critical. Trevelyan's account of the reign is surprisingly brief, while the nature of Leadam's scholarly volume precludes any extensive treatment of new materials.

In a reign where the personal element is so important, it is indeed noteworthy that we have so few biographies of the statesmen of the time, and those few far from satisfactory. Even Queen Anne has found no real biographer. With all its limitations, and with its confessedly Jacobite tinge, Miss Strickland's work is probably the best we have, although it was published more than seventy years ago. Such books as P. F. W. Ryan's *Queen Anne and her Court* are distinctly uncritical. The Duchess of Marlborough has found many apologists and critics, but no biography at once critical and interpretative has been written, despite the efforts of Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Colville, Molloy, and Reid. The best life of Marlborough is by Coxe, and is now a century old. Roscoe in his life of Harley lacks a proper appreciation of the man, although he has made some use of the valuable Harley Papers. Yet his is the only attempt to tell the life story of one of the most astute politicians of that day. Scholars have been more assiduous in their attention to Bolingbroke, although scarcely more successful. Macknight's book (1863) remains the best, as Sichel in his more recent volumes has failed to make the most of his opportunities. Godolphin's life by Elliott (1888) is far from satisfying, as the author confessed that much source material was inaccessible to him. Shrewsbury and Somerset, the political enigmas of the epoch, remain still unexplained. Not

a single member of the Whig junto has found a worthy biographer and, until such time as the political activities of these five men are investigated, no adequate political history of the period can be written.

For the most part, the older histories of this period have been written largely from the pages of Boyer, Burnet, and the *Parliamentary History*, with occasional references to available manuscript material. In this monograph additional manuscripts and source materials have been studied in the archives in England and Holland, besides numerous pamphlets and periodicals, and the invaluable reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

In a sense this is an attempt to rewrite the history of the first eight years of Anne's reign in the light of the new evidence that has become available in the last thirty years. In places the author has dared to differ from the usual estimates of some of the leading characters of the period. This has necessitated a frequent citation of authorities, for which he craves the reader's indulgence. The controversial nature of a part of his work has also caused him to quote more freely from contemporary sources than would otherwise have been the case.

My acknowledgements should be many. The library authorities at Harvard, Yale, and Columbia Universities have always been more than kind in putting their treasures at my disposal. My thanks are also due to the officials of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Rijks Archief for their kindness and consideration. In common with most American students who carry on research in England, I owe far more to the courtesy of Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office than I can ever repay.

I am greatly indebted to Professor W. P. Trent of Columbia University. He has read the most of my manuscript, and has placed his intimate knowledge of the

literature of the period unreservedly at my command. I am also indebted to Professor Charles M. Andrews of Yale for material assistance in revising the manuscript and seeing it through the press. Even more thanks are due to Professor W. C. Abbott also of Yale, who first suggested to me this field of study, for he has at all times kindly encouraged and directed my work. My greatest debt of gratitude is, however, to my wife, who has helped me at all stages in the preparation of this work.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Columbia University,  
March 27, 1919.



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## INTRODUCTION

To trace the origin of a political institution is never easy, but the difficulties are peculiarly baffling when one deals with the antecedents of a political party, because of the many factors that enter into its development. The antiquarian might see in the Republican party of the United States nothing more than the lineal descendant of the old Federalists; another scholar might argue that it originated in the feelings aroused by the Fugitive Slave Law; and the man in the street would probably date its origin from Lincoln's election. Today the evolution of the National Unionist party in Great Britain and the People's party in the United States is, for the average voter, probably clothed in equal darkness.

The question of the origin of the Whig and Tory parties in England is similar, but on account of the lapse of time, much more difficult. Daniel Defoe considered the Royalists of the Civil Wars as the embryo of the Tories;<sup>1</sup> another writer on English parties says that the latter part of Charles II's reign was "an epoch whence we may date not only the rise of the Whig and Tory parties, but also the principles which they severally possess."<sup>2</sup> To this statement Professor W. C. Abbott gives partial assent, finding their origin in the later years of Clarendon's ministry when zealous High Churchman and devout Presbyterian fought each other in the Cavalier Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Present State of Parties*, p. 4; *Faults on Both Sides*, p. 6. See also C. B. R. Kent, *Early History of the Tories*, p. 11. For a list of abbreviations used in the footnotes see pp. 404-406.

<sup>2</sup> George Wingrove Cooke, *History of Party*, I. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "History of the Long Parliament of Charles II," *E. H. R.*, XXI. 44.

Bolingbroke maintained that the Tories date from the dissolution of this same parliament, but Ranke believed that neither party came into full being until the reign of William III.<sup>1</sup>

The decision hinges on the connotation of the term, "political party." If it is no more than "organized opinion," as Disraeli so aptly put it, Whigs and Tories may well be considered in existence in fact, though not in name, before the period of the Commonwealth; if to "organized opinion" be added a more or less established body of principles, the date must be placed considerably later than the Restoration; if we take it to mean the existence of a reasonably permanent policy and a stable following, then the beginning of Queen Anne's reign is none too late. Even at that time parties were in a very fluid condition compared with those of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although the cabinet was slowly assuming a definite form.

Political parties arise as a convenient method of influencing the exercise of the powers of government, but as long as such power rests in the hands of the sovereign, they have little significance. Until the accession of the Stuarts, the crown was the important factor in English government, but under these monarchs the middle classes were aroused at the same time into self-consciousness and revolt. During the Civil Wars, the Parliamentary and Royalist parties became clearly aligned. The latter temporarily disappeared, and the former split into several factions, when Cromwell assumed charge of affairs. During the Interregnum a new Royalist party came into existence. For several years this party met with little opposition, but in 1667 it finally crystallized into a de-

<sup>1</sup> L. Von Ranke, *Hist. of England*, V. 291; Bolingbroke, *Dissertation on Parties*, Lecture III. Hallam dates the use of the terms Whig and Tory from the defeat of the Exclusion Bill. *Const. Hist.*, III. 197.

mand for the removal of Clarendon, who was essentially the king's prime minister.<sup>1</sup>

It is yet scarcely accurate to call either of these factions a true political party,<sup>2</sup> although even as early as the dismissal of Clarendon, they were developing the doctrines of ministerial responsibility and parliamentary supremacy in the sense in which we use them today, and as the years of the Cavalier Parliament increased, the personal opposition to the monarch, as well as to his policies, developed as each successive by-election sent more independent representatives to the lower house. In consequence, the king found it increasingly difficult to have his way, and it became much more of a task to cajole parliament into voting the necessary supplies. In response to its wishes, Charles was compelled to sacrifice Danby as he had Clarendon, and at last he was forced to dissolve it, after its members had served eighteen years. Fortunately for the king, the Popish plot came just when matters looked darkest for the monarchy, because religious fanaticism now blinded many to its worst features, and the strength of the opposition grew weaker during the remainder of the reign.

Charles II was succeeded by James II, against whom all factions united for a season into one, fired with the common purpose of expelling him for his bold attempt to turn the government over to his Catholic supporters. As soon as James was in exile, these elements again separated, as the conditions which necessitated their joint efforts no longer existed. By the time William arrived in London, he found numerous opponents, and before long, despite his tact—which Macaulay doubtless exag-

<sup>1</sup> W. C. Abbott, *supra cit.*, *E. H. R.*, XXI. 44; Cooke, I. 4-6. See also L. F. Brown, "Religious Factors in the Convention Parliament," *E. H. R.*, XXII. 51.

<sup>2</sup> On this point the *Character of a Tory* by John Sheffield, later Duke of Buckingham, is both interesting and instructive.



gerates—the new monarch had almost as many enemies as friends. Many who had been anxious that James should be dethroned, were yet unwilling to bestow the crown upon one whose claim was based upon parliamentary caprice rather than upon heredity.

The number of malcontents grew rapidly after Mary's death, which undermined William's popularity and threw him almost entirely into the hands of those who wished to exalt the power of parliament over the crown. William had no intention of unduly favoring either faction, but he found to his cost that a ministry which took its membership from both sides was impracticable, as it led to interminable quarrels, disturbing the easy administration of public affairs. In fact, William wanted *ministers* and not a *ministry*.<sup>1</sup> By 1696 the inveterate hostility of his opponents forced him to ally himself with the advocates of parliamentary supremacy. These were to be found among the Dissenters and urban trading classes, who were looking forward to England's commercial expansion.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, revenues for the war were most grudgingly given by the landed gentry, who saw little gain in humbling the restless ambitions of Louis XIV as long as they were insured a profitable market for their surplus produce.<sup>3</sup> The non-conformists and monied men who supported the king began to form a fairly stable group, favoring a continuance of the war, and, after 1701, the Protestant succession, while exalting the power of parliament as contrasted with the prerogative. They made entirely too much of this last point when they asked William to dismiss his favorite Dutch guards, so he

<sup>1</sup> W. M. Torrens, *History of Cabinets*, pp. 4-7; Kent, pp. 373-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Present State of Parties*, p. 11. Until recently few historians have seen the political significance of their support of the wars waged by William III and Anne.

<sup>3</sup> Mary G. Young, "The Management of the Whig Party under Sir Robert Walpole." (Yale doctoral dissertation, unprinted.)

turned for a brief space to their rivals, who emphasized the power of the king. William was disliked by the High Churchmen,<sup>1</sup> and was unpopular with the faction which he favored because he remained his own prime minister and had little or no regard for their wishes in his conduct of foreign affairs.

Anne's reign is characterized both in its domestic and diplomatic aspects by the constant struggle of these two factions for supremacy. Upon her death, the Whigs, through better organization, gained an ascendancy which was not lost until George III came to the throne determined to increase his prerogative. Even he, astute politician as he was, spent nearly a decade undermining the Whig factions, which had been unable to endure continued prosperity. Such in brief is the story of the two parties in England before 1770.

The purpose of this monograph is to ascertain the part played by Queen Anne in English politics during the period when Godolphin acted as her first minister, and to note the relative influence of the Marlboroughs, Harley, and Godolphin, and the reasons for their downfall. The relations of Harley with the queen and with Defoe will be studied; considerable attention will be paid to the methods employed in parliamentary elections and, in a more general way, the attitude of the junto and the Tory leaders towards the composite ministries that existed under Godolphin will be examined, in an endeavor to discover wherein lay the power of the Marlboroughs on the one hand and of the Whig junto on the other. Through it all we shall seek to find to what extent political leaders controlled parliament, and in what degree they were controlled by it, at a time when sovereignty was gradually, though unconsciously, being transferred from the throne

<sup>1</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7076, f. 154; Coke, III. 132.

to the House of Commons, and the cabinet was slowly evolving into its present form.

The approach is neither from the direction of party development nor that of party politics, but rather from that of the reaction of the individual upon the party, as opposed to the reaction of the party upon the individual. This point of view must be somewhat biographical, and even anecdotal at times, but seems the more necessary because of the fluidity of parties and the loose party allegiance of a large number of the leading statesmen of the day. It was this state of flux which alone permitted the continuance of the non-partisan ministries of Godolphin and the control of government policies by a small group of some half dozen persons.

## CHAPTER I

### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND IN 1702

BEFORE proceeding to a study of the reign of the last of the Stuarts, it is necessary to visualize the situation in England at the accession of Queen Anne in order to understand the problems she had to face.

Foreign affairs were in a critical condition. The greatest monarch in Europe was Louis XIV, the deadly enemy of William III. They had fought two wars against each other, both of which had proved indecisive, although Louis was forced to recognize William as king of England. In 1700 the French king's acceptance of the will of Charles II of Spain, granting the Spanish throne to his grandson, made another war against the Bourbons inevitable, but England's participation was not assured until Louis broke the treaty of Ryswick by saluting the Pretender as James III.<sup>1</sup> After that insult the English masses were willing to support William in his attempts to humble the French monarch, and he was able to form the Grand Alliance, which isolated Louis, who, except for the Bavarians and the incidental aid received from the Spanish patriots, stood alone against all central and western Europe, particularly the Hapsburgs, Holland, and England. Nevertheless, the French king seemed not unequal to his task, and it was only the genius of the two generals of the Alliance which upset his calculations. English statesmen realized the seriousness of the situa-

<sup>1</sup> [David Jones], *The Life of James II, late King of England*, p. 419 (1705); *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 396.

tion, and did not expect a rapid conclusion of the war. Fortunately for England, William had discovered the latent ability of Marlborough, and made him commander-in-chief in the Netherlands. A short time before his death the king informed Princess Anne that this general was the fittest person to lead her armies and direct her counsels, and for once she was careful to follow William's advice.<sup>1</sup>

However serious the military situation might seem, it was further complicated by the unsatisfactory aspect of social and economic affairs. The population of England was practically stationary at five millions,<sup>2</sup> and the previous war had plunged the kingdom deeply into debt, in spite of the fact that William had utilized sources of revenue heretofore untouched. England was not wealthy, because her resources remained largely undeveloped. In agriculture, the fundamental changes which were shortly to revolutionize English rural life had scarcely begun. Jethro Tull had only commenced his experiments with seed drills and deep plowing, which were to mean so much to English farming in the future; Townshend had not yet forsaken public life to earn the nickname which betokens a fame greater than any he was to win even as first minister; while Bakewell and Coke of Holkham were not to become famous for a generation.<sup>3</sup> Methods of cultivation had changed little for a century; the wasteful open field system persisted in spite of the growth of enclosures; great stretches of fertile lands remained uncultivated, whereas the valiant yeomanry, who had been the pride of

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lediard, *Marlborough*, I. 136; W. Coxe, *Marlborough*, I. 76.

<sup>2</sup> J. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, II. 68, 634, 674; Sir F. M. Eden, *State of the Poor*, I. 228. The best account of the social life of the reign is by John Ashton. W. C. Sydney's *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century* and A. Andrews's *The Eighteenth Century* are also useful.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, pp. 502-3; *House of Lords MSS.* (H. M. C.), (n. s.), V. 70.

England since Crécy and Agincourt, gradually decayed<sup>1</sup> as monied men continued to purchase land for the social esteem which it gave.

As was to be expected, the changes in industry were more marked. The craft gild was already declining and the adventurous *entrepreneur* was having recourse to the so-called "domestic system," to speed up production for a wider market. Even here, however, the evolution was comparatively slow and the factory system was nearly a century in the future, although Newcomen invented his engine in 1705. In commerce the development was more marked.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the expansion of England's commerce and the extension of her colonial empire were but well begun, although her jealousy of the Dutch remained bitter and India loomed greater with each successive year. So far the American colonies had been allowed to grow unrestrained, and little thought was given to plans for making them contribute to the wealth and welfare of the mother country.<sup>3</sup>

An increase in wealth accompanied these changes. The comparative ease with which subscriptions were obtained for the Bank of England in 1694 shows the mobile capital of the realm; the willingness of this corporation to loan William money in 1697 emphasizes the same point; while the facility with which Sir Isaac Newton was able to reform the currency proves it. The manner of the Bank's organization and the nature of its supporters bound it equally to the Revolution and the Whigs, while it provided a most efficient instrument for financing the war.\*

<sup>1</sup> H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, pp. 276-9; E. Fischel, *The English Constitution*, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> *House of Lords MSS.* (H. M. C.), (n. s.), V. 66-100.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. Andrews, "Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry (1700-1750)," *A. H. R.*, XX. 539, 761; Lecky, I. 194; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), vol. V. xxiii.

\* *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), vol. VI. xviii.

Bound up with the war was the question of the church. The Revolution had been brought on largely by the king's religious fanaticism, and the alignment of political parties had been largely determined by its outcome. James's attempt to strengthen Roman Catholicism had served only to bring persecution upon those whom he wished to serve. Since the Popish plot their plight had been hard enough. From all quarters they were looked upon with the utmost suspicion. It is difficult to account for the terror of Papists manifested by the rank and file of Protestants at a time when the recusants made up less than five per cent of the population, and probably less than one per cent of the people of London held allegiance to the pope.<sup>1</sup> Yet, though all political power had been taken away from the Catholics by the strict laws of Charles II, such fears persisted, forcing the Protestant leaders to invite William to England and exclude all Papists from the throne.

The Anglicans disliked the Dissenters but little less than they did the recusants. They could not forget the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and Clarendon's code was placed between the non-conformist and political preferment. And since the ingenuity of the Dissenter with an elastic conscience found the practice of occasional conformity an easy method of circumventing such acts, despite the loyalty of Presbyterian and Independent, the churchmen loathed them, distrusted their sincerity and feared many of them were republicans in disguise.<sup>2</sup> Another cause of this enmity lay in the fact that the backbone of the non-conformist group was the commercial bourgeoisie, whose wealth and importance were increasing day by day, and would soon rival that of the landed aristocracy, who worshiped according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Great and Good News to the Church of England* (1705); Burnet, V. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Grey's Debates*, II. 134.

Anglican faith. It was in a sense, despite their frequent marriage alliances, a social struggle between the gentry and the trading classes; it was also political, because wealthy merchants were buying up boroughs and making their way into parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Under the most favorable conditions the Anglicans would have found it increasingly difficult to check the growing power of the monied classes. Had they been united, they might have succeeded, but they were very far indeed from being in harmony. Since the time of Laud they had been divided into High and Low Church. The former stood for much ceremony in the service and emphasized the teachings of the church fathers, while the latter favored a simpler service and laid less stress on tradition. High Churchmen opposed comprehension, whereas the Low Church group were heartily in favor of some reasonable compromise whereby all but the most radical Dissenters might be brought into the fold. The Highfliers, as the High Churchmen were called, were recruited largely from the conservative country squires, whereas their less zealous brethren were drawn mainly from the leading noble families and the more prosperous merchants.

The Anglican clergy were similarly divided, with the bishops predominantly of Low Church ideas, while the parish priests were High Church. Related to these ecclesiastics were the non-jurors, who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. Though few, and with their ranks thinning rapidly, these conscientious divines exerted an influence, through their virulence and ability, out of all proportion to their numbers, and formed a nucleus of a faction of the Tories. All the clergy, indeed, took a great interest in political affairs,

<sup>1</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, f. 276; Hearne, I. 49; Macpherson, I. 603.



particularly in elections, when they exercised no inconsiderable influence over the voters in their local areas.<sup>1</sup>

While Anne's accession wrought somewhat of confusion in religious matters, the state of political parties soon became little short of chaotic. During William's reign, two factions of approximately equal strength existed, which for the sake of clearness are hereafter termed Whig and Tory. The latter was made up of several distinct elements, which together probably made up a majority of the English people. Its strength lay in the rural districts among the pleasure-loving landed gentry, whose loyal tenants also belonged to this party. A considerable part of the lawyers and the nobility likewise favored the Tories. In a word, the party contained the upper and lower classes, but "wanted the middle and connecting links."<sup>2</sup> Having developed from the old "Cavaliers," and being thoroughly imbued with the divine right theory, its adherents never entirely gave over their loyalty to the exiled Stuarts, as a majority of them probably upheld the doctrine of "passive obedience and indefeasible hereditary right." They were also, in general, stanch champions of the church,<sup>3</sup> and were conservative in temperament, with a decided weakness for the prerogative and a territorial aristocracy; while they resented the growing influence of the aggressive commercial classes.

During William's reign, the doctrine of passive obedience proved very troublesome to the Tories, inasmuch as it placed them in a position scarcely loyal to the king they had helped to call from Holland. Under Anne, it

<sup>1</sup> J. Stoughton, *Religion in England*, pp. 18-9. See also biographies of Bishops Compton, Trelawny, and Atterbury.

<sup>2</sup> Kent, pp. 22, 34; see as well Roger North's *Examen*, pp. 320-42.

<sup>3</sup> T. Somerville, *Hist. of Polit. Trans.*, pp. 687-90; May, *Const. Hist.*, II. 21. See also Thomas Papillon, *Memoirs of T. Papillon*, p. 374.

was to become still more vexatious. As a matter of fact, the party split over the question of the succession. The most extreme Tories were called Jacobites, and they, like the non-jurors, remained first and foremost the champions of the Pretender, whom they wished to bring back to England at any cost. For the most part they were too fearful of treason to plot much, yet it was well for the country that their numbers were so few.<sup>1</sup> Only a trifle less disposed in that way were the Highfliers, to whom the welfare of the church stood in the same relation as the Pretender to the Jacobites. This faction was led by the Anglican clergy, and was powerful both in numbers and influence.<sup>2</sup> Last of all were the Hanoverian Tories, later styled by St. John, "whimsicals," who supported the Protestant succession, even though it meant putting upon the throne an alien who was inclined to be lenient towards Dissenters and Low Churchmen. Among all the Tories, there was little real leadership of a constructive kind,<sup>3</sup> but the chief weakness of the party lay in the irreconcilable attitude of the Jacobite and Hanoverian factions as to the succession after Anne's death.

Even if the Whigs were not thoroughly united, they held more common principles than their rivals, as their support of the Act of Settlement bound most of them together, although there was always considerable intriguing with the Tories. The Whigs came mainly from the trading centers, although their leaders were largely taken from the more prominent noble families. The diminishing class of the yeomanry also supported the Whigs. The previous war had increased the importance of the monied

<sup>1</sup> *Present State of Parties*, p. 51; Bolingbroke, *Dissertation on Parties*; Lecky, I. 141. The Jacobites diminished in numbers when Gloucester died and Louis XIV recognized the Pretender. Coxe, I. 73-5; Kent, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, f. 18; cf. Von Noorden, *Bolingbroke*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe, I. 276; cf. Lecky, I. 153.

group, which had invested so largely in government securities, and were consequently supporting the Bank of England. Marriages between the scions of the nobility and the daughters of wealthy traders were not uncommon and did much to increase the power of the Whigs by gaining for the merchant class a social standing, which the economic development of England was gradually, but surely, to improve.<sup>1</sup>

The commercial classes were mainly Low Churchmen and Dissenters, and were much more kindly inclined towards toleration and comprehension than the Tories, while they had much less reverence for the Anglican clergy.<sup>2</sup> They carried the same ideas into politics, and in 1689, in the Bill of Rights, they insisted upon safeguarding the people against any arbitrary exercise of the prerogative, by making parliament a check upon the king. The Whig liberals went even farther; they championed the cause of civil liberty even at the expense of parliament, if need be.<sup>3</sup> Closely allied to the monied interests, which had risen to power through war, they favored a vigorous prosecution of the struggle against Louis, both on land and sea, while their opponents wished only to retain the mastery of the sea.<sup>4</sup>

The future lay with the Whigs. To a greater degree than the Tories, they stood for the economic interests of the nation. As England's commerce and industry increased, a larger number of the intelligent middle classes joined their ranks. The kindness of the Whig leaders to the non-conformists gained them many recruits in that quarter. Much to the alarm of the Highfliers, the mass

<sup>1</sup> Defoe, *Complete English Tradesman*; Hume, *Hist. of Eng.*, ch. LVI; Kent, pp. 450-1; T. Papillon, *Memoirs of T. Papillon*, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Swift in the *Examiner*, No. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *The Dangers of Moderation*, p. 6; Lord, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Macaulay, p. 2391; *Marchmont Papers*, II. 314; Bolingbroke's *Letters*, II. 74, 211.

of immigrants also favored their opponents. The Whigs had better leaders, who were excellent organizers and most active in converting young men as soon as they showed political promise.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Tory chieftains were under the strain of supporting the queen's prerogative, while undermining her influence by currying favor with the impetuous Jacobites, who must at least be made to believe that the Tories had in mind to destroy the very law which had brought the queen to the throne.

While parties were in such a fluid condition, the power wielded by various influential personages at court was often of vital importance; hence, it is wise at the outset to study the character of the more notable persons of the realm, for in no reign has the individual statesman played a larger part than in that of Anne. In particular, during this period of transition in constitutional history, when an unpopular king of foreign extraction gave way to a Stuart, the character of the new ruler would have great influence on the trend of affairs. Thus it becomes imperative to know something of the queen's personality.

Anne's countenance was frank and open, maternal and good-humored; while her chin showed real Stuart determination, which on sundry occasions approached royal obstinacy. She was inclined to be phlegmatic and good-natured, unless thoroughly aroused, when with a certain amount of grim satisfaction, she saw to it that her wishes were respected and the presumptuous individual put in his proper place. She had a tenacious memory for both favors and injuries, but when she was well, and not unduly antagonized, she was uniformly kind to those about her. This largely accounts for her popularity among the masses, except during the last weeks of her

<sup>1</sup> T. Somerville, *Political Transactions*, pp. 687-97; M. T. Blauvelt, *The Development of Cabinet Government*, p. 89.

life when they began to fear that she was planning to have the Pretender succeed her.<sup>1</sup>

In appearance the queen was pleasing. Her figure was comely rather than beautiful, with a decided tendency towards grossness as she grew older, due to an excessive fondness for eating, and a violent antipathy for anything approaching exercise. She was gluttonous; nothing seemed to affect her appetite, not even her grief over her husband's death. Card-playing and hunting were her only forms of recreation, and for the latter she employed a special kind of cart. As a result of her sedentary life, Anne was usually on intimate terms with the gout, which eventually shortened her life. During her coronation she was so "infirm from gout and unwieldy from corpulency," that she had to be carried around in a huge sedan chair.<sup>2</sup> She was only thirty-seven years of age, yet in physical stamina she was much older. Little wonder, when we recollect that she had borne at least seventeen children, not one of whom survived to see her crowned!<sup>3</sup>

Few people have had a more unhappy childhood than Lady Anne. At her birth, her uncle, Charles II, was king; her father, the Duke of York, the heir to the throne; and her maternal grandfather, the Earl of Clarendon, the leading minister. Her father was a devout Catholic, her mother an equally devout Anglican. Anne's mother<sup>4</sup> died

<sup>1</sup> Mesnager, *Minutes of Negotiations*, pp. 40-3; Strickland, XII. 102-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 34; J. F. Molloy, *The Queen's Comrade* (2d ed.), I. 302; Colville, p. 120; *Notes & Queries* (9th series), XI. 24, in 1705, a large, fleshy lady was "thought very like her Majesty." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Paul says that Anne was a mother eighteen times. *A History of the Royal Family* gives the names of but five children. Stebbing mentions twelve and "several more miscarriages." *Genealog. Hist.*, pp. 859-65. See also Wyon, I. 46.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Henslow's *Anne Hyde, Duchess of York*, is a popular life of Anne's mother.

while she was still in her teens, and although she was James's favorite, he habitually neglected her, particularly after his second marriage, when Anne was left entirely in the care of her mother's relatives, by whom she was carefully nurtured in the Protestant faith. During the excitement following the Popish plot, James was forced to leave England, and thereafter could pay little attention to her welfare. Anne was now very unhappy, as she knew how ardently her father and step-mother desired her to become a Catholic.

The princess, thus left to her own resources, soon found solace for her loneliness in the companionship of Sarah Jennings, a clever young woman, some years her senior, and this friendship gradually became closer, until when Anne was married, Sarah, then the wife of John Churchill, became her lady of the bedchamber. Two years later, James became king, and Anne soon learned with horror that he was endeavoring to make England Catholic. Untrained in politics, Anne listened to the advice of her closest friends, and decided to desert her father, rather than renounce Anglicanism, which seemed to her inevitable, if James succeeded in his plans. Those dull November days prior to the king's flight from England were most trying to the young princess. On the one hand, she was impelled by her love for her father; on the other, by her loyalty to the church and her affection for Mary. In her embarrassment, is it surprising that she sought the aid of her trusted companion, Lady Churchill, who was always so resourceful in times of difficulty? At court everything was in turmoil, and each courtier looked upon his neighbor with unspoken suspicion. James had led his army from London towards the southwest in order to check William's advance. With him were Prince George and Lord Churchill, of whose desertion of the king London was informed on November

25. Almost at once James withdrew towards his capital, a move which so excited Anne that she threatened to jump out of the window if he came near. To her mind flight was the only thing left, and Lady Churchill, with the willing co-operation of Compton, the deposed bishop of London, completed the arrangement, and the two ladies escaped from court that night.<sup>1</sup> Such unseemly haste has been taken to mean that Anne and probably Sarah as well were surprised by the news that their husbands had joined William of Orange.

As early as May, 1687, however, Churchill wrote to William that Anne was safe "in the trusting of him," and was certain that she would never embrace Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> A fortnight later, James is reported as believing that Lady Churchill had advised his daughter to go to Holland.<sup>3</sup> Since 1685 Anne had been in close communication with her sister Mary, William's wife, and in January, 1688, wrote that she feared the establishment of Catholicism in England.<sup>4</sup> As soon as she learned that her father's wife, Mary of Modena, was pregnant, Anne complained that her stepmother was entirely too secretive, and doubted whether or not she were *enceinte*. Nearly a month before the princess left London, her uncle, the second Earl of Clarendon, noted her unwillingness to concede that the child, James Edward, was her brother.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Clarendon Papers*, II. 207; G. A. Ellis, *Ellis Cor.*, II. 338; Cibber's *Apology*, pp. 57-9; *Dartmouth MSS.* (H. M. C.), 214; *Ailesbury Memoirs* (H. M. C.), p. 191; *Hatton Cor.*, II. 113, 118; *Notes & Queries* (8th series), I. 152.

<sup>2</sup> John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, II. 191.

<sup>3</sup> See letters of the French minister in Lingard's *Hist. of Eng.*, X. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Bentinck, *Mémoires de Mary II*, pp. 24-6. Anne probably never ceased to question the Pretender's legitimacy.

<sup>5</sup> Dalrymple's *Memoirs* (II, App., Pt. ii. 297-310) contains a large amount of correspondence between Mary and Anne, relative to the queen's pregnancy. See also Bentinck, *supra cit.*, pp. 31-2, and G. Burnet, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Grande Bretagne*, pp. 291-7.

Later, Clarendon again tried to get her to support her father, but she steadily refused; ostensibly because James would not like for her to meddle. Very soon the earl felt called upon once more to remonstrate with her for "unseemly levity." Anne replied that she "played at cards because it was her daily custom, and that she never did anything that looked like affected constraint." The true reason is now quite apparent, for Anne had already written William that Prince George would join him "as soon as his friends think it proper."<sup>1</sup> Within a few days she remarked to Clarendon that the people were so afraid of popery that many more would follow his son's example and desert to William.<sup>2</sup> When Churchill went over to William, he left a letter for James, professing deep sorrow in having to leave him on account of his religious scruples. Prince George penned a similar explanation, emphasizing the same point of religion, and voicing the same hope that the king might come to no harm, and Anne likewise wrote to the queen, expressing identical sentiments.<sup>3</sup> These letters convince one that it is almost inconceivable that each of the three should have left notes of explanation so similar in phrase and content, unless there had been a previous agreement on the subject.

It would seem, therefore, that Anne's decision to abandon her father was not taken on the spur of the moment, so her fright must have been due to the unexpected return of James to London; and his order to the lord chamberlain to seize Churchill's houses in London and St. Albans, and probably take his wife into custody as well, disconcerted her and her companion, who were both short of

<sup>1</sup> Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, II, Pt. i. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Clarendon Papers*, II. 305. See also Thomas, p. 37; Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, X. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne MSS (B. M.), 1236, f. 230; W. Kennett, *Complete Hist.*, III. 498.



funds at that time. Had they planned a long journey, Lady Churchill certainly would have attended to that matter in plenty of time. Had Anne been unable to prevail upon the lord chamberlain to delay the execution of his order, Lady Churchill could not have left London at that time.<sup>1</sup> Yet Sarah's influence was a factor in Anne's desertion of her father, although her devotion to the church was proverbial,<sup>2</sup> and her dislike and fear of Mary of Modena a matter of common report. Believing that deception had been employed at the birth of the Pretender, she was seized with a deep resentment against the Catholics, who seemed bent upon depriving her of her right to the throne. Anne did much to advance the success of the Revolution by deserting her father. Lacking her aid, William might never have become king, and without her continued support, "his throne would suffer in stability and dignity."

As soon as William had established himself in London, Anne returned to the Cockpit in Whitehall and gave her loyal support to William and Mary. Her stand is said to have been due to Lady Churchill, who disclaims the responsibility, although conceding that she persuaded the princess "to the project of that settlement, and to be easy under it, after it was made."<sup>3</sup> Whoever may have prompted her, it is indisputable that she had the courage to stand forth publicly against her father and Catholicism. Unhappily, her religion was so akin to superstition that she never ceased to regret this step. Anne, realizing that she had been her father's favorite, could never think of him in exile without remorse, and the Jaco-

<sup>1</sup> Colville, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MSS., 6584, f. 271a; Macpherson, I. 282; Bentinck, *supra cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 19-22; *Other Side*, p. 22; Macaulay, p. 1292. Lady Churchill insisted, however, that it took the additional urging of Lady Russell and Dr. Tillotson to cause Anne to give up her present right to the throne.

bites saw to it that she was constantly reminded of her ingratitude.<sup>1</sup>

The princess was just as willing, however, to stand for her rights against the new sovereigns. Friction soon arose between Anne and the king, because his attitude was not what she had anticipated when she championed his claim to the throne. For this quarrel Macaulay holds the Churchills entirely responsible, insisting that Anne was completely controlled by them, and that they brought her into serious financial difficulties; first with her father and later with William. No one doubts the exceeding fondness of the Churchills for money, or that its accumulation was one of the leading motives of their public and private life, but this alone does not prove the charge against them, although there is a strong presumption that they feathered their nest according to the prevailing fashion.

Anne had been most liberally supported by both her uncle and her father, but she was ever in financial straits. Yet, Lady Churchill repeatedly tells us that the princess was exceedingly economical, and many others bear out her testimony. Anne never purchased a jewel for her own use, as she looked upon jewelry as the greatest of vanities. When the Earl of Oxford wished parliament to purchase the Pitt diamond for her, she forbade it, saying "it was a . . . pity that Greenwich Hospital was not finished."<sup>2</sup> If, then, Anne did not spend her allowance herself, what became of it?

Lady Churchill, now Countess of Marlborough (1689), also emphasized Anne's lavish rewards to her friends. As Sarah and her husband were her most intimate asso-

<sup>1</sup> In 1701, Mary of Modena sent her James's dying wishes. Beaumont et Bernois, *La Cour des Stuarts*, p. 237; T. S. Evans, *Life of Robert Frampton*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Dartmouth MSS.* (H. M. C.), Intro., v; *Journal to Stella*, 8 August, 1711.

ciates, what is more natural than that the princess should shower gifts upon them? The countess may have been an "abandoned liar," as Macaulay suggests, but her word may well be accepted when she unconsciously condemns herself, by saying that Anne bestowed upon her a pension and later gave a dowry of £5,000 to each of her four charming daughters.<sup>1</sup> To anyone who knows aught of the countess, it is inconceivable that she should be surrounded by wealth without securing some of it, or that the princess should bestow choice gifts upon other friends and totally neglect her.

The greater Anne's allowance, the more bountiful would be her presents. Thus both self-interest and friendship would urge the countess to aid Anne to increase her pension. At any rate, William's reign was scarcely a year old before Anne demanded a liberal settlement as heir apparent. Although enjoying a pension in excess of £30,000, she asked for £70,000. Nor was application made to the king, inasmuch as William had stated in emphatic terms that he could not understand how "the Princess could spend £30,000 a year." Consequently her case was presented directly to parliament. William immediately sent the Duke of Shrewsbury to wait upon the countess, asking her to obtain Anne's permission to withdraw the case from the Commons, and offering the princess a settlement of £50,000 a year.<sup>2</sup> The countess expressed some doubt of the king's sincerity, and advised Shrewsbury to wait upon Anne in person. He met a cool reception there, as the princess replied: "Since that affair was before the Commons, it must even take the course and be concluded by that wise body." She thought herself justified in seeking an allowance, and

<sup>1</sup> Reid, pp. 117, 471. It was current that Sarah gained "much larger sums" by gambling with Anne. Thomas, p. 49; *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> R. Doebner, *Memoirs of Mary II*, p. 17; *Conduct*, p. 33; *C. J.*, X. 310.

“reasonable to see what her friends could do for her.”<sup>1</sup> Firmly on this ground she stood, and parliament finally voted her £50,000 a year.<sup>2</sup>

Anne had gained her end and somewhat humiliated William, but she was soon to find it a Pyrrhic victory. The king thought the Marlboroughs responsible for the obstinacy of the princess. Indeed, there was no doubt of it, as the countess openly boasted of her part in it.<sup>3</sup> Why did the latter side with Anne? Was it because she thought it her duty to guard the oppressed? This is unlikely, as the princess had been well treated up to this time.<sup>4</sup> Two probable explanations appear; either the countess expected to share in Anne’s good fortune, or she saw, in thus opposing William, a better opportunity of aiding her husband in his schemes, the exact nature of which still remains a matter of doubt.

Before many months had passed, however, the king began to suspect Marlborough. Fearing that he was in communication with James II, he dismissed the earl from all his employments, forbade him to attend court, and later committed him to the Tower. Such a move placed in jeopardy the countess’s honorable position, since it was not customary, even in those days of double-dealing, for a traitor’s wife to retain an important place at court. Yet this might have passed unnoticed, had the countess remained in the background; had not Anne, insisting upon her rights, brought her along when she called upon the queen! This incident partly explains Mary’s frank

<sup>1</sup> Coke, III. 123. Coke said this was her reply to Wharton and Shrewsbury.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, X. 310, 319; *Other Side*, p. 37; *Conduct*, pp. 32-4.

<sup>3</sup> See *Life of the Duchess*, pp. 16-21; Doebner, *Memoirs*, p. 18; *Conduct*, pp. 31-5.

<sup>4</sup> The countess was then high in the graces of William and Mary herself, as she thought her recommendation might help her uncle, Dr. Lister, obtain a post as one of the king’s five physicians, although four were already chosen. Lister MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 5.

letter to her sister. "I tell you plainly," she wrote, "Lady Marlborough must not continue with you in the circumstances her lord is." The demand was reasonable, but it was couched in unfriendly terms,<sup>1</sup> and Anne would have been scarcely human had she not resented its spirit. "I think," she replied, "this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very sensible mortification, so there is no misery that I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather than thoughts of parting with her."<sup>2</sup>

Marlborough's disgrace was not the sole cause of the queen's action, as Mary had more than three years before criticized the religious views of the countess. "I am sorry people have taken great pains to give you so ill a character of Lady Churchill," was the princess's loyal retort. "I believe there is nobody in the world has better tokens of religion than she has. I am sure she is not as strict as some are, nor does she keep such a bustle with religion; which I confess I think ne'er the worse, for one sees so many saints devils that if you be a good Christian the less stir one makes it better in my opinion. As for her moral principles, it is impossible to have better and without that all the lifting eyes, [and] going to Church will prove but very lame devotion."<sup>3</sup> The queen also suspected that the countess was probably aiding her husband in reconciling Anne and her father. Although Mary may have lacked definite proof of Anne's complicity, the latter unquestionably had written to James weeks before Marlborough's disgrace, expressing remorse for her desertion, and a deep concern for his misfortunes.<sup>4</sup> Mis-

<sup>1</sup> Miss Sandars thinks "no one can accuse it of harshness." *Mary II*, p. 319. She probably follows Burnet. Harleian MSS., 6584, f. 69a.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, I. 458-9; *Conduct*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Birch MSS. (B. M.), 4163. Mary was told that Sarah "abhors Catholicism."

<sup>4</sup> *Ailesbury Memoirs* (H. M. C.), p. 293; Strickland, XII. 135. For Mary's own account, see Doebner, *Memoirs*, p. 38.

trusting her sister's loyalty, and disliking her independence, the queen could do no less than insist upon the dismissal of the woman she held responsible for both.

Being naturally wilful and possessed of a profound liking for the countess, Anne was loath to part with her, but it was not this alone that accounts for her attitude; she had personal grievances against both the king and queen, the most important of which was William's cavalier treatment of her husband, Prince George of Denmark. Authorities are for once in complete accord as to the mediocrity of Prince George. Charles II's witty remark that he had tried him both drunk and sober, and that "drunk or sober, there is nothing in him," was corroborated by James II when he learned of his desertion. "What, is *est-il-possible* gone? Were he not my son-in-law, a single trooper would have been a greater loss."<sup>1</sup> William was proverbially impatient with men of slender ability, hence he tactlessly paid little attention to his clumsy, stupid, besotted brother-in-law. Although mediocre in intelligence, Prince George was exceedingly desirous to be of service and asked to accompany William to Ireland. He was denied, however, the usual courtesy of traveling in the same coach with the king, an honor which was reserved for the Earl of Portland. The prince probably paid little attention to this slight, but Anne's indignation was aroused, although she might have overlooked the discourtesy, had it not been followed by another. The crisis in English naval affairs after the unfortunate battle of Beachy Head (1690) probably appealed to George's patriotism, and he begged to go to sea without a command. Mistaking William's silence as consent, he prepared to take ship. By that time the king was in Holland, and it fell to Mary to prohibit the

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, X. 352. The prince was called *est-il-possible* from his customary exclamation.

prince's sailing, after she had found it impossible to persuade him to forego his plans.

Anne nursed other grievances as well, one of which was some unpleasantness over the place of residence of herself and her family. She desired the apartments formerly occupied by the Duchess of Portsmouth. Since she was unable to secure quarters for her servants near them, she took the Portsmouth apartments for her children, and remained herself at the Cockpit. She later asked for Richmond Palace that her children might have better air, but this was refused, probably because it was being used by the sister of William's mistress, and Anne felt very indignant, particularly because she had to bow to the wishes of a shameless woman. In addition, William's personal discourtesies to the princess increased her determination to keep the countess with her.

Thoroughly aware of the importance of her position, Anne felt that the king was ungrateful for the part she had played in the Revolution. So to all forms of persuasion she was impervious, and she wrote again to her sister: "I am sorry I find that all I have said myself, and Lord Rochester for me, has not had effect enough to keep your Majesty from persisting in a resolution, which you are satisfied must be so great a mortification to me, as, to avoid it, I shall be obliged to deprive myself of the satisfaction of living where I might have frequent opportunity of assuring you of my duty and respect."<sup>1</sup>

Anne's threat to retire did not weaken Mary's decision, although she wrote once more, making her intentions much clearer. The queen insisted upon immediate compliance, and the princess left court, not only to retain the countess's companionship, but because she felt that such a move would make her appear a martyr in the eyes of

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 58.

the English masses among whom William was so unpopular. If the king or queen "imagine to vex me or gain upon me by such sort of usage, they will be mightily disappointed," she wrote to the countess, "and I hope that these foolish things they do, will every day show people more and more what they are, and that they truly deserve the name your faithful Morley has given them."<sup>1</sup> She was correct in her surmise, because William's attitude towards Anne increased his difficulties with parliament.

How grateful the princess was to the woman who had supported her interests at court appears in a letter, which exhibits so much of her force of character as to warrant its being quoted at length. "I must give my dear Mrs. Freeman ten thousand thanks for her two kind letters and assure her 'tis not necessary to make excuses at length. Could you imagine how very welcome they are to me, I am sure you would not do it. I hear Lord Marlborough is sent to the Tower and though I am certain they have nothing against him and expected by your letter it would be so, yet I was struck when I was told of it, for me thinks it is a dismal thing to have one's friends sent to that place. I have a thousand melancholy thoughts and can't help fearing they should hinder you from coming to me, though how they could do that without making you a prisoner too, I cannot imagine. I am just now told by pretty good hands that as soon as the wind turns westerly there will be guards set upon the Prince and me. If you hear there is any such thing designed and 'tis easy to you, pray let me see you before the wind changes, for afterwards one does not know whether they will let one have opportunities of speaking to one another. But let them do what they please,

<sup>1</sup> Molloy, *Queen's Comrade*, I. 219. To avoid meaningless etiquette in their letters, Anne and Sarah adopted the names of Morley and Freeman respectively.



nothing shall ever vex me so I can have the satisfaction of seeing dear Mrs. Freeman. I swear I could live upon bread and water between four walls with her without repining, for as long as you continue kind nothing can ever be a real mortification to your faithful Morley, who wishes she may never have a moment's happiness in this world or the next, if ever she proves false to you."<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1691, Anne had been alarmed by the information that she was really "an honourable prisoner and in the hands of the Dutch guards," but she was terrified now by the warning that unless she dismissed the countess voluntarily, she would be "obliged to it."<sup>2</sup> Her punishment began at once and nothing "in the power of the Crown to inflict upon her was spared."<sup>3</sup> Her guard of honor was taken away; foreign ministers ceased to wait upon her; the rector at St. James was advised not to show her the usual courtesies; when she went to Bath, the mayor was requested to omit the formalities with which royal visitors were customarily received. The courtiers quickly took the hint, and the prince and princess were neglected. Anne bitterly complained of this ostracism: "I cannot end this without telling you that the guards in St. James Park did not stand to their arms, either when the Prince went or came. I can't believe it was their Dutch breeding alone, but Dutch orders made them do it, because they never omitted it before, and they could not pretend to be surprised."<sup>4</sup> In Anne's delicate state of health such treatment was nothing if not brutal, but it only added to her obstinacy. "Being now at liberty to go where I please, by the Queen's refusal to see me," she wrote to the countess, "I am mightily inclined to go

<sup>1</sup> Reid, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, I. 203-6.

<sup>3</sup> Macaulay, pp. 2127-8.

<sup>4</sup> Reid, p. 83. See also *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 58; Burnet, IV. 164.

tomorrow after dinner to the Cockpit, and from thence privately in a chair to see you.”<sup>1</sup>

Did the countess urge Anne to resist the queen? She denied the accusation categorically, and her statement is rendered probable by some lines of the princess: “Can you think either of us [George and Anne] so wretched,” she wrote, “that for the sake of £20,000 and to be tormented from morning to night with flattering knaves and fools, we should forsake those we have such obligations to, and that we are so certain we are the occasion of all their misfortunes.”<sup>2</sup> Later Anne said: “You must give me leave, at once, to beg you will never mention so cruel a thing again, for it pierces to my very heart and soul, and for God’s sake, be assured, besides the acting a base, ungrateful part towards you (which is a thing I abhor) I am fully persuaded I should be the meanest, pityfullest wretch on earth if I did not retire.”<sup>3</sup> Anne was so aroused that she vowed she would keep the countess “in spite of their teeth,” and would go to the “utmost verge of the earth rather than live with such monsters.”<sup>4</sup> She swore, moreover, that she “would sooner be torn in pieces”<sup>5</sup> than yield, and yield she never did, although subjected to systematic persecution. Even under the trying ordeal of her last interview with Queen Mary, her will power stood the test. While recovering from a serious illness, she was waited upon without ceremony by the queen, who demanded forthwith the countess’s dismissal. Anne replied that she “had never in all her life

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 79. See also Chamberlen, p. 9; Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Molloy, *Queen’s Comrade*, I. 215; *Other Side*, pp. 109-10; *Conduct*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>3</sup> Reid, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, I. 460-3.

<sup>5</sup> Reid, pp. 83-4, 88. For Mary’s statements see Doebner, *Memoirs*, p. 45. Several of Anne’s letters are printed in Molloy, *op. cit.*, I. 209-50.

disobeyed her, except in that one particular, which she hoped would some time or other, appear as reasonable to her Majesty as it did to her.'"<sup>1</sup>

Few persons have the courage, even under extraordinary condition, to intrigue against their parents. Yet Anne, often charged with obtuseness and pusillanimity, helped make the Revolution possible, because she feared for the future of Protestantism in England. James II never suspected his retiring daughter of so much determination, while William and Mary never supposed that Anne would be so bold as to disobey their commands. Yet she asked parliament for a settlement and secured it; furthermore, she would not, even in the face of threats and insults, part with Lady Marlborough.

Both Anne and Mary were bent upon having their own way, and all hopes of a reconciliation were cut short by the latter's tragic death. Soon afterwards William showed a great many marks of disrespect to the princess, which became so apparent that people began to murmur, and finally, for political reasons, the king, at Somers's instigation, permitted the princess to return to court, though even then she was suspected of intriguing with her father. Anne's desire to choose the members of the Duke of Gloucester's establishment increased William's distrust; yet he acceded to her wishes in appointing Marlborough as the boy's guardian, although he insisted upon Burnet as tutor.<sup>2</sup>

The young duke suddenly died in 1700 and Anne was inconsolable. The king had become inordinately fond of his namesake, and looked upon him as England's future king. With his death, the last tie binding William to his sister-in-law was dissolved. Her loss filled Anne with

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 70. See *London Gazette*, 17 April, 1692.

<sup>2</sup> *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 94; T. Somerville, *Trans.*, p. 629.

superstitious fear, for she concluded that her bereavement was really a punishment for deserting her father, whose forgiveness she decided to gain before it was too late. So she asked his permission to accept the crown in accordance with the Act of Settlement that had just been passed.<sup>1</sup> Being already suspicious of Anne, James was now convinced of her duplicity, and thought "she merely wished to learn his intentions that she might defeat them, if they were opposed to her own determination to rule as queen."<sup>2</sup> This judgment was unfair, because Gloucester's death had weakened her resolution to ascend the throne which by hereditary right belonged to her father.<sup>3</sup>

William III, surrounded as he was by intriguers, had become more alert, and quickly learned of Anne's correspondence. Already embittered against her, he determined to punish her severely, by refusing the usual formalities of mourning at court for her son. William's hatred was heartily reciprocated. "I cannot let your servant go back," Anne wrote to Godolphin, "without returning my thanks for the letter, and assuring you it is a very great satisfaction to me to find you agree . . . concerning the ill-natured cruel proceedings of Mr. Caliban [William] who vexes me more than you can imagine, and I am out of all patience when I think I must do so monstrous a thing as not to put my lodgings in mourning for my father."<sup>4</sup>

Such barbarous treatment in no sense broke down her will. She remained as rebellious as ever, and it is diffi-

<sup>1</sup> E. Spanheim, *Relation de la cour d'Angleterre*, p. 600; C. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, p. 193; Clarke, *James II*, II. 559.

<sup>2</sup> Ryan, I. 84. See *ib.*, I. 149.

<sup>3</sup> L'Hermitage to Heinsius, 10 March, 1702, Rijks Archief, 26A.

<sup>4</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 2. "Caliban," "Dutch Monster," and "Abortion" were Mrs. Freeman's and Mrs. Morley's favorite names for William. Macaulay criticises such expressions by Anne as the "style of a fishwoman," which would seem somewhat too severe. *Hist.*, p. 2128.

cult to conclude that she acted as a tool of the Marlboroughs. Indeed, she had a will and policy all her own, in the carrying out of which the countess rendered great service because it was to her interest, financial and otherwise, to do so. When Anne became queen, she really needed Lady Marlborough's help at court, so she made her groom of the stole and keeper of the privy purse. Military affairs were in a critical state, and the queen chose Marlborough—the only able English general—as the head of her army.

These two appointments have usually been taken to mean that Queen Anne was entirely controlled by the captain-general and his wife. The great Whig historian has given wide currency to this idea, and his less able successors have assumed that, if the Marlboroughs' influence over Princess Anne was large, their power over Queen Anne was supreme. An examination of Anne's early life has not proved that she was so completely under their control, and their later relations must be studied before any conclusions can be drawn.

Before proceeding farther, however, three additional incidents, throwing some light upon Anne's intelligence and force of character, will be given. During James's reign, the Earl of Scarsdale, an officer in Anne's household, having incurred the king's displeasure, was summarily dismissed from all his offices. The princess sought to retain him, and yielded only to James's direct command. The Earl of Sunderland was one of the shrewdest men of the Revolution; he was first on one side and then on the other; no statesman of his time pretended to understand him. In the light of all his researches, Macaulay confessed his inability to fathom the man, and even with our present-day knowledge, he remains much of a mystery. "One thing I forgot to tell you about this noble Lord," wrote Anne to her sister

early in 1688, "which is that if everything does not go here as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court, and so retire, and by that means it is possible he may make his court to you."<sup>1</sup> In view of his later activities, this is one of the best prophecies in regard to this political trickster of which we have any record.

The Earl of Rochester, Anne's uncle, was another influential statesman of the Revolution, and was active as an intermediary in her quarrel with Mary. From his attitude towards her, as well as the general tenor of these negotiations, Anne gained the idea that he was trying to trick her. Without wasting a single moment, she wrote: "I give you many thanks for the compliments and expressions of service . . . which I should be much better pleased with, than I am, if I had any reason to think them sincere."<sup>2</sup> This note must have come as a decided surprise to a skilful minister, who probably imagined he was hoodwinking his unsophisticated niece.

It is now time to note the characterizations of Anne given by a number of secondary writers, and later the basis for their statements will be examined. Cooke's estimate is among the most hostile. Speaking of these "two weak-minded persons," he insisted that "Anne was scarcely superior to her husband in intellect; her opinions were prejudices; they had been received without examination, and were retained without suspicion."<sup>3</sup> The full force of this comparison is apparent only when we recall the caustic remarks of Charles II and James II, who knew her consort well. We gain the same impression of Anne from Macaulay, who says that "When in good humour she was meekly stupid, and when in ill humour, sulkily stupid." "Her powers of mind were certainly

<sup>1</sup> Ryan, I. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 93; Colville, p. 92; *Other Side*, pp. 93-5.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Party*, I. 525, 543. See also J. Forster, *Defoe*, pp. 41-2.

not considerable," notes Lord Mahon. "She had no wit of her own nor appreciation of wit in others. No one could have less share, less sympathy, in the great intellectual movements . . . [of] her reign." In the latter part of this observation there is unquestionably a large element of truth, as the queen's interests were confessedly personal and political. Paul caustically says that "She never showed any power, and seldom any wish, to comprehend the great issues of European politics, the fierce struggles of political parties, which were decided and fought out by her soldiers and ministers in her name." Another writes, "Poor Anne, unfortunately scarcely ever enjoyed more than the shadow of that authority, which was disputed by factions, both equally intent upon personal aggrandizement."

The evidence cited by these harsh critics is scarcely sufficient to warrant such reflections, but they form the basis for the current conceptions of Queen Anne. It is, however, somewhat surprising that so little attention has been paid to Jonathan Swift's keen observations,<sup>2</sup> and the statements of Voltaire, while much of the force of the accounts by the Duchess of Marlborough and Lady Masham seem to have been lost. All these will be noticed in due time.

Some idea of the new queen has now been gained, and we shall next glance briefly at some of the more conspicuous characters of the reign. The men first to be mentioned cannot be strictly considered as members of either the Whig or the Tory parties, since they are found

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, II. 179. For similar characterizations, see Michael, *Eng. Gesch.*, I. 227; Strickland, XII. 44; Von Noorden, I. 185; M. G. Howitt, *Queens of England*, p. 478. A more favorable view may be found in A. L. Cross, *Hist. of Eng. and Greater Britain*, Roscoe, *Harley*, W. F. Lord, *Political Parties*, and Bunbury, *Hanmer*.

<sup>2</sup> *Change in the Queen's Ministry and Four Last Years of the Reign*. His *Journal to Stella* hints at the same thing.

acting first with one and then with the other, in some important capacity. This was largely due to the lax political morality of the years succeeding the Revolution, when statesmen chose safety rather than consistency as their motto. Another cause for this vacillation was the indefinite stand of the two parties on many questions; while, as now, the disappointed politician sought alliances where his merits would be most substantially rewarded.

Marlborough was one of these statesmen without fixed political affiliations, and is generally esteemed the greatest of them all, on account of his transcendent ability as general, diplomat, and politician. Voltaire said that he never fought a battle without victory, or besieged a town without success. He had already served three sovereigns, but to none of them had he been true. Nevertheless, the charm of the man was irresistible, despite his squeaky voice and penuriousness. His pleasing address never gained him any widespread popularity, however, even in the hour of victory, because he was always too self-centered, and owned no principle but self-interest. At the beginning of Anne's reign, the earl was thoroughly Tory in sympathy,<sup>1</sup> due in all probability to his reverence for the crown and the principles of the Established Church, but such an alliance soon proved embarrassing, as the Tories were unwilling to enter enthusiastically into the war.

The political career of Marlborough would be most interesting in itself, but it becomes vital when one considers that his talented wife was Anne's trusted companion. The countess was the most talked-of woman of her age, as well as the most cordially hated. In contrast to her cool, imperturbable husband, she was quick-tempered and exceedingly frank, while her likes and dislikes

<sup>1</sup> Consult the letter of Bonet, the Prussian representative in London, which is quoted by Von Noorden, I. 200.



were both well pronounced. As the mother of four attractive daughters, all of whom married into the noblest families of England, Lady Marlborough would have been closely connected with political affairs, even though she had not been Mrs. Morley's "dear Mrs. Freeman." Her most prominent son-in-law was Sunderland's heir and one of the Whig leaders. Either from natural inclination and her Low Church proclivities, or through his influence, the countess soon began to favor the Whigs, and attempted to convert her husband.

Sidney, later Earl of Godolphin, was closely allied with the Marlboroughs in politics and his son had married their eldest daughter. He was a modest, self-effacing man, who had the tact and good fortune to serve the last three monarchs in important financial positions, generally to the satisfaction of each. Charles II aptly summarized his character by saying that he "was never in the way, and never out of it." Though possessed of great financial ability, he was very much of a bore in society, as his chief interests lay in cock-fighting and horse-racing, and he was never thoroughly happy except at the Newmarket race course. Thrown, as he was, into the maelstrom of partisan politics, he showed his lack of courage and of political acumen, and was overcome by an abler intriguer, who was less timorous and fearful of responsibility.

Robert Harley was an important associate of both Marlborough and Godolphin. He was reared a Presbyterian, and his family had always been Whig, but he was ambitious and promotion came slowly among the Whigs, who had a number of active leaders; so he became a moderate Tory, although his principles remained those of a conservative Whig throughout his career. His political abilities were of a high order, but they were to no inconsiderable extent nullified by his habit of extreme pro-

crastination, and an attitude of perfect inscrutableness even to his most intimate friends. Both these traits were accentuated in later years by an ungovernable fondness for drink,<sup>1</sup> which frequently incapacitated him for effective political activity.

Henry St. John was an intimate friend of Harley, and had somewhat the same political inclinations. In his own day he was famed equally as an orator, literary man, intriguer, free-thinker, and libertine, a reputation which in all its phases has not grown less with age. He changed to the Tories about the time of Anne's accession, and like Harley gained a place in the composite ministry of Godolphin through his political sagacity. Each of these men was without any scruples or gratitude, when such inconvenient principles stood in the way of political advancement. They and the queen were really the "administration" from the summer of 1710 until Anne's death, and their political manipulations were probably as skilful as any that England had ever seen.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was a shrewd courtier, who stood between the Godolphin and Harley ministries and was the nemesis of both. He was of illustrious birth and ample fortune. Personally he was most agreeable and possessed great culture, speaking French and Italian like a native. His notorious mother exerted much power over him, and he was educated a Catholic, but through Somers's influence he became a Protestant and a Whig. Nevertheless, he remains one of the most elusive public men of all time. His party affiliations were more variable than those of the other men already mentioned. In the

<sup>1</sup> Cowper's *Diary* contains a good characterization, although it is a trifle too severe, even from a fair-minded opponent. Lady Marlborough's opinion is not as hostile as might be expected. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 140. Many of Harley's letters may be found in the *Portland Papers*. His severest critic is the author of *A Detection of the Secret History of the White Staff*. Cf. Swift's estimates in the *Journal to Stella*, *passim*.

case of the others, one is able to tell on which side they were for the nonce, but for Shrewsbury this is impossible, perhaps for the simple reason that he did not know himself. He had served James II and then had helped seat William on the throne. For motives known only to himself, he corresponded with James, but in the face of exposure he resigned. Indeed, he had a most adroit way of avoiding political responsibility by quitting office at critical moments upon a plea of illness. Yet this vacillating, one-eyed, sickly gallant exerted more authority in important crises in English politics than any other statesman of his day.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion, he helped create a revolution; at another, he overthrew a ministry; at a third, he assured the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover and spoiled all the plans of the Jacobites.

Another interesting character of the epoch was Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, whom Swift dubbed as "Dismal." His father was Sir Heneage Finch, a judge of great ability, and Daniel resembled his parent in many ways. He was one of the most virtuous and honorable men in a time of loosest morality. Although an orator of parts, he was much too prolix, and his gloomy demeanor prevented his making many friends. His religious sincerity was exceptional, and he remained throughout life a steadfast Churchman. Although allied with the High Churchmen, he had stood, not only for *toleration* but for *comprehension*.<sup>2</sup> He was a man of much influence, but imperious, and early in Anne's reign incurred her fatal displeasure by his insolence. At heart a thoroughgoing Tory, he had a high idea of the prerogative. He aided in overthrowing the Whigs in 1710, but Harley failed to satisfy his ambition for a portfolio, and he left his party

<sup>1</sup> *Shrewsb. Cor.*, pp. 634-45; Macky, *Memoirs*, p. 14; Hearne, I. 140; *Priv. Cor.*, II. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MSS. (B. M.), 6584, ff. 270b; Macaulay, pp. 894, 1394.

at a most critical moment, when nothing short of a revolutionary measure sufficed to keep it in power.<sup>1</sup>

This ends the list of "waverers," and we now turn to the leading Tories. Rochester was perhaps the foremost of them. He was honest, but his ability was mediocre, and his mismanagement in 1685 cost the Exchequer £45,000.<sup>2</sup> Like Harley, he was much too fond of drink.<sup>3</sup> He was vehement in the extreme and when aroused swore like a porter. Nevertheless, he was a typical High Church Tory, who hated the Dissenters worse than he did Satan, heartily opposed England's entrance into the war as a principal, and was averse to any extension of parliamentary rights and privileges.

Sir Edward Seymour was another influential High-flier, although he confessed that seven years had passed "since he had received the sacrament or heard a sermon in the Church of England."<sup>4</sup> He was a descendant through the elder line of the Protector Somerset, and his political power in the southwestern counties, particularly around Exeter, was usually supreme. He was as proud as Jupiter, absolutely fearless, possessed considerable skill as a debater, and was well versed in parliamentary usages. He might have done much to reform parliamentary representation had he been less corrupt and intolerant. Finally, we must mention as belonging to this group, Sir Simon Harcourt, who was not so devoted a churchman as Seymour or Rochester, but was a loyal Tory, and probably the most brilliant lawyer in his party.

Another type of Tory carried its politics to the point

<sup>1</sup> The creation of twelve Tory peers December 31, 1711.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay, pp. 241, 268; *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), I. 232.

<sup>3</sup> On one occasion after stripping himself almost naked, he climbed a post to drink King William's health. Macky, *Memoirs*, p. 30; *Remarks on the Conduct*, pp. 36, sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *History of Great Britain*, I. 317.

of treason, and bore the name of Jacobite. The number belonging to this faction was not as large as is usually supposed, since its apparent strength came from the reputation of a few leaders, of whom Ormond stands as the most picturesque, for though certainly not the ablest, he was a popular hero and the idol of his party.<sup>1</sup> He was generous to a fault, but exceedingly vain, and his aversion to business was proverbial, while at critical moments he was timid and vacillating. A man of much greater force was Dr. Atterbury, later bishop of Rochester. He was the soul of the Jacobite movement among the clergy, and was firmly ensconced in the affections of the court. When the time came to test the strength of the Jacobites, he stood almost alone in advocating violence.<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Jersey was a Jacobite of considerable prominence but of little real ability. Without much doubt, the leading figure of this group was the Scottish Duke of Hamilton, whose untimely death in a duel had much to do with the final discomfiture of the Jacobites upon the queen's death.<sup>3</sup> He was very close to the sovereign, closer, some aver, than any other man, save possibly Harley.

The Tories were unfortunate in having their membership divided into three distinct factions, but doubly so in having their leaders split up so equally among these groups, which refused to co-operate in carrying through important policies. The Whigs were more closely organized and possessed a definite policy. Their cohesive force came from the Hanoverian succession; their motive power and directing energy, from the second Whig junto, which was composed of Somers, Wharton, Halifax, Orford, and Charles Spencer, later Earl of Sunderland.

<sup>1</sup> Macky, *Memoirs*, p. 10; Wyon, I. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See King's *Anecdotes*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Just before his death he was nominated peace plenipotentiary, and it was the Pretender's great misfortune that Shrewsbury succeeded him.

All five were men of ability, particularly the first three. Of this group one man has said: "Somers was the greatest . . . , Wharton the noisiest, Sunderland the most insolent, Halifax the most brilliant, and Orford the most respectable."<sup>1</sup> They formed the inner Whig organization, and held together in an amazing way. They planned their policies, usually with considerable skill, and caused the Tories no end of uneasiness, even when the latter boasted a comfortable working majority in parliament.

Of this clique Wharton seems to have been the astute political manager, while Somers gave it stability. Wharton was not only a professed atheist, but one of the most abandoned libertines of his day. His personality must have been magnetic, for he had ability akin to genius in securing the allegiance of able young men to the Whig party. As early as 1685, his skill in elections was so great in Buckinghamshire and vicinity that it was said he was directly responsible for the presence of thirty members in parliament.<sup>2</sup> In a later election he is said to have spent £12,000. His influence was greatly reduced by the hostility of the queen, who was scandalized by his indecencies.

Less fascinating than Wharton, Lord Somers ranked as one of the greatest constitutional lawyers of his age, and his judicial opinions were always received with respect. Despite his well-known weakness for women,<sup>3</sup> Somers was the most satisfactory character in the group, and one of the finest types of his day. He was a sincere patriot, an art connoisseur, and a patron of both literature and art. Moreover, he had more poise and self-command than his associates, and was the only one whose honesty was unquestioned. Unfortunately he had been

<sup>1</sup> Lord, pp. 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 70. See also *D. N. B.* under "Wharton."

<sup>3</sup> Macky, *Memoirs*, p. 50.

a nervous wreck for years, and could not labor very energetically in the political field.

Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, resembled Somers more than any of the others, as both were interested in art, and did much to encourage talented, but needy, young writers. Montagu had shown sterling qualities as a financier under William, and was mainly responsible for establishing the Bank of England and reforming the currency. His skill was by no means exclusively financial, as he was an eloquent debater and a consummate politician, but his early success had made him so intolerably vain, that the only avenue to his good graces lay through fulsome flattery. Another weakness was his constitutional timidity,<sup>1</sup> which caused him to be perpetually seeking new political alliances.

The weakest link in the Whig chain was unquestionably Sunderland, the son-in-law of the Marlboroughs. Unlike his father, he never learned to dissemble his feelings, and his impulsiveness kept not only his relatives, but the Whig party, continually in embarrassment. He was educated at Utrecht, where he imbibed so much republicanism that he became the most radical of the Whig leaders and took delight in stirring up trouble. Despite his promises to his father-in-law, Sunderland's attitude was never temperate, and he soon aroused Anne's distrust, which contributed to the failure of some of the most cherished plans of the *junto*.

The least active of the Whig clique was Edward Russell, Earl of Orford. In no sense a politician, he was first and last a sailor. He had always been both arrogant and greedy. At the battle of La Hogue (1692), where he made his reputation, he wavered between loyalty and treason so long that even the French thought he had turned traitor. Despite his haughtiness and malignancy,

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, I. 256; Macaulay, pp. 2394-9.

his fame and family gave him great prestige,<sup>1</sup> of which his colleagues made the most in elections.

Notwithstanding its weaknesses, this group of men organized the Whigs more systematically than ever before. They made the party responsive to discipline, and frequent meetings of the party leaders, as well as of more select groups, determined party policies. Already the junto was improving upon the old methods of compelling members to attend parliament whenever there was urgent need of their presence.<sup>2</sup>

Besides these leaders, there were a few more Whigs deserving attention. The proud but mediocre Duke of Somerset was continually wavering in his allegiance to his party. He was the ranking Protestant nobleman, and in the course of his long life took a leading part in the royal ceremonies during six reigns.<sup>3</sup> Under Anne his influence was thrown into the balance at critical moments in support of the junto, with whom he had no personal sympathy whatever. Through the place held by his wife, he was able to get into the good graces of the queen, and divided her confidence with Harley and Mrs. Masham after the downfall of the Marlboroughs. However, he stands, according to Burnet, as a "ministry spoiler, rather than as a ministry maker."<sup>4</sup> A stancher Whig, who stood firmly with his party amid great temptations, was Robert Walpole, but his great opportunity did not come until the next reign. The list of leaders would not be complete without the name of a man who was neither a political leader nor in any real sense an eighteenth-century politician. Yet, in his way, Daniel Defoe in-

<sup>1</sup> *Faults on Both Sides*, p. 18. Cf. Coxe, I. 259; Macaulay, pp. 2020, 2248.

<sup>2</sup> The contests over the election of speaker in December, 1701, and in 1705 show the efficiency of the party "whips." See also Kent, pp. 93-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes & Queries* (2d series), III, 256.

<sup>4</sup> A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 165.



fluenced parliamentary activity indirectly as much as any man in the realm. He was in this reign pre-eminently a political journalist, but he did most efficient service for his superiors in the guise of a secret agent.

Such is the list of political notables in 1702. It remains to see how Anne fared in dealing with them in public affairs. She had, however, her own private life as queen, and it is best to ascertain the character of those with whom she associated on confidential terms. Her most intimate companion was her own husband. He was much older than she, but at all times proved himself both kind and affectionate. What was still more wonderful for a courtier who had lived at Charles II's dissolute court, he was faithful to his marriage vows. But here his list of virtues ends! He was endowed by nature with a physique which any Viking might have envied, but his intemperance made him a wreck at fifty. Some things he may have loved, but two he worshiped. One was his wife, the other, his bottle. When Anne became queen, more and more of her time had to be devoted to state affairs, and to solace himself in her absence, George paid most assiduous court to Bacchus. It is pathetic to contemplate his gradual decline, due to his all too frequent indulgence in strong drink. Even in those rare moments when he was entirely free from the influence of brandy, his intellectual powers were never considerable. He made few friends, and took little interest in politics, but he was very fond of gossip,<sup>1</sup> much to Anne's chagrin, since she was heartily ashamed of the ridiculous figure he cut at court.

Anne could thus expect no aid from the prince; rather the reverse, as his health soon became such that he demanded much of the time she should have spent in directing affairs of state. The opinions of Prince George's

<sup>1</sup> Macky, *Memoirs*, p. 3; Burnet, I. 643, V. 391; Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, X. 353. Schaumann, *Gesch. der Erwerberung*, pp. 111-2.

ability given by Charles II and James II are in a way corroborated by William, who scarcely mentions the prince's existence in his correspondence, and other contemporaries are equally oblivious of his importance.<sup>1</sup> Secondary authorities are even less kind. Ryan writes that he was "enthusiastic only over his bottle," and Paul suggestively remarks that he died, "having perhaps done as little good, and as little harm, as it is possible for a human being to do."<sup>2</sup>

The dozen or more children born to the prince and princess tarried but a few hours, or at most a few days, and left Anne sorrowing over their loss. Only one, the idolized Gloucester, lived long enough to brighten her life, but as soon as she began to have visions of him as the future ruler of England, he, too, was snatched away. A few months after his death her father died an exile at the court of the hospitable French king. Her half-brother, the living image of her Gloucester, had become definitely aligned against her through Louis XIV's recognition of his claims to the English throne. Probably the ablest of all her kin was the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II by the sister of Marlborough, since he was a skilful general and an astute diplomat. Unluckily, his services were against the queen and her greatest military commander. Indeed, his successes in Spain against the English caused no small annoyance to both Marlborough and Anne. Though the queen was deserted completely by her father's relatives, she had little more satisfactory relations with her mother's brothers. Clarendon, the eldest, remained a steadfast Jacobite, while Rochester's imperious behavior aroused her deepest resentment.

Thus, with all her relatives either hostile or sulking, because they expected greater rewards than she was

<sup>1</sup> *The Duchess of Marlborough's Remarks*, printed by Reid, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> H. Paul, *Queen Anne*, p. 42; Ryan, pp. 138, 193; Wyon, I. 46.

willing to bestow; with a husband who was a hindrance rather than a help; without children to cheer her, this princess, destined to be the last of the Stuart dynasty, was a lonely, if not an unhappy woman. She needed friends and confidants, supporters and administrators. In seeking both, it is reasonable that she should have continued to depend upon those who had championed her cause before she became queen.

## CHAPTER II

### THE QUEEN AND PARLIAMENT (1702-1704)

ON the evening of March 7, 1702, it was realized that the hours of William III were numbered, and immediately the courtiers began paying assiduous attention to the queen that was to be. Some even of the nobility condescended to play the rôle of messenger-boys, carrying to Anne news of her brother-in-law's gradual dissolution.<sup>1</sup> To and fro they scurried between the palace and Anne's apartments, bringing the latest reports of his sinking condition. Meanwhile, William was slowly and painfully breathing his life away. It was a pitiful sight to watch one of the noblest souls of his age pass to the great beyond, because each breath seemed fairly to rend his vitals, as though pierced with the sharpest of swords. Yet William died as bravely as he had lived,<sup>2</sup> and when the gray dawn of that March morning was dissolving into daylight, a new sovereign reigned over the British Isles, the first woman to rule in her own right since Elizabeth.

In many respects Anne's position was akin to that of the Virgin Queen a century and a half earlier. Her main duty, it is true, was to reconcile two political, rather than religious, factions; yet the latter task was not lacking in Anne's reign, as the struggle over occasional conformity

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, I. 257. Dartmouth's malicious statement that Burnet was the first to salute Anne as queen, is untrue, as younger men were intent upon the same errand. Jersey is said to have sent news every half hour. *Other Side*, p. 146; Ralph, *Hist. of Eng.*, II. 1623; Rijks Archief, letter from L'Hermitage to Heinsius, 10 March, 1702.

<sup>2</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7070, f. 27, 7074, f. 200; J. Hervey, *Diary*, 8 March, 1702; S. P. Dom., Anne, I. 1.

well shows. The problem of the succession was as vital in 1702 as it had been in 1558, and with it was intertwined the whole religious problem as to whether a Catholic could rule in England. The Act of Succession, like the will of Henry VIII, was not considered binding by a large part of the people. Elizabeth had succeeded her unpopular sister, while Anne followed William, who was disliked almost as much as "Bloody Mary" had been hated; but here the parallel ceases, as Elizabeth had no such warring factions in her parliament with which to contend as had Anne, factions which were conscious of their power because they had helped remove one sovereign and make another. The last of the Tudors, too, had the support of a strong Protestant party, while the last of the Stuarts had the opposition of the stronger party, and only the half-hearted support of the weaker.

Few reigns in English history are so interesting, and in none is the personal element more significant, on account of the intrigues which made and unmade ministries, while Marlborough was winning glorious victories over the French and Godolphin was effecting the union with Scotland. "No period in British history presents . . . such a picture of corruption, venality, unconstitutional influences, court intrigues, unbounded ambition in court favorites, and the extended abuse of property and power. . . . It is throughout, . . . a scene of artifice and delusions.'"<sup>1</sup>

The reign opened most auspiciously for the new monarch. Both houses met promptly after William's death; loyal addresses were voted and an order passed to proclaim the queen that afternoon.<sup>2</sup> Early in the evening the Privy Council as a body came quietly to Anne's apartments to pay her the proper compliments. Her "well-

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, *Transactions*, preface.

<sup>2</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7070, f. 27.

considered" reply, though it may have been written by others, shows traces of the queen's influence. Throughout her reign, her attitude towards the Privy Council, parliament, and ministry was more that of a Tudor than a Stuart, since she clearly stated her wishes and then appealed to the loyalty of both parliament and the people to support her.

Anne's first speech to both houses shows this. She possessed a beautiful voice, which had been carefully trained. As she pronounced her brief address with grace and fluency, she concluded: "It shall be my constant endeavour, to make you the best returns for that duty and affection you have expressed for me, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all my subjects; and as I know my own heart to be *entirely English*, I can sincerely assure you, there is nothing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you will always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."<sup>1</sup>

The ubiquitous Burnet said that this conclusion was received with very bad grace by many who saw in it both a reflection upon the late king, and an unpleasant reminder of her father's first speech to parliament.<sup>2</sup> Marlborough could scarcely have been responsible for either part, especially not the first. With all his faults he was entirely too self-conscious to favor such an attack upon his late master's memory, little as he revered him; and he would have thought such a reference to James II exceedingly tactless. The queen herself could have no such reasons for remaining quiet. She knew how unpopular William had become. If she had in the least doubted it, the unseemly levity of prominent courtiers

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 5. Italics are not in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 3; Chamberlen, pp. 18-9; Coke, III. 132.

after his death would have speedily convinced her. When William was injured, many Jacobites drank to the health of "Sorrel," whose stumbling had broken the king's collar bone. Some of them, indeed, maintained that the king's death was an instance of divine retribution, since "Sorrel" had belonged to Sir John Fenwick, whom William refused to save from attainder. Even the Privy Council refused the king the honor of a public funeral, and he was quietly buried four days after his death.

Fully aware of the king's unpopularity, Anne was anxious to stress the fact that she was English, for she knew that the fundamental reason for the dislike of William lay in his foreign birth, foreign speech, and foreign favorites.<sup>1</sup> Besides, in emphasizing her Stuart blood as that of the hereditary line of English sovereigns, she made a direct appeal for the Jacobite support. Moreover, she even quoted their dead monarch's own words as a warrant for their loyalty.

That Harley and Godolphin had a part in framing the speech is unquestioned, but some of the sentiments it expressed bear no resemblance to those entertained by either. The appeal to the loyalty of the English is in keeping with Harley's ideas and the queen's private sentiments, while the closing sentence is the work of a zealous High Church adherent, or even a Jacobite. The

<sup>1</sup> Chamberlen, p. 30; Coke, III. 132. One contemporary poem ran:

"Let's e'en mourn on; 'twould lessen much our wo,  
Had Sorrel stumbled thirteen years ago."

A pamphlet of the time, *Gulielmus Redevivus* (1701-2), reads: "In short he was a King, hateful both to God and man; whatsoever was pleasing to God and good men, that was displeasing to him and his favourites. He died without issue; and was unlamented, for Joy that he left his throne to a *Native and Glorious Successor* after he had reigned thirteen years." "The longer he was in the country, the less he was beloved," writes an historian. "It may be doubted whether at the time of his decease there was a single Englishman who entertained for him a feeling of personal attachment." Mahon, I. 39. See also *Faults on Both Sides*, p. 15.

evidence points to the Earl of Rochester,<sup>1</sup> whose religious opinions coincided with those of Anne.

The sentiments spoken by the queen seem for the most part to have been in consonance with her religious beliefs, which were just as thoroughly English as they were devoutly Anglican. She wished with all her heart to be a popular sovereign, and next to that desire was her ambition to better the condition of the church and broaden its field of influence. She had, besides, a special predilection in favor of her rights as hereditary sovereign.

It would appear, then, that Anne had her way as to the contents of her first public address. Others might suggest to her, if they would, the direction of foreign affairs, but she would insist upon having some voice in domestic matters, for she recognized, as probably few men of her time did, how "great a divinity doth hedge a king," or queen, of the Stuart line. "The theory that a king can do no wrong is still a legal fiction," notes one writer, "but in the days of the Stuarts that the king can do no wrong was more than a legal fiction. It was a creed in which the Stuarts were fervent believers. For this faith Charles I died; for it James II lost his Crown."

Anne, though willing to accept the throne from parlia-

<sup>1</sup> A letter of L'Hermitage to Heinsius concludes: "On impute diverses choses aux Conseils du C[omte] Roch[ester] qui ne sont pas goûtées, de bien des gens, et qui sont connoître a ce qu'on pretend son caractere. C'est luy qui fit mettre dans la 1<sup>re</sup> harangue de la Reine le mot du Cœur entiere-ment Anglois. . . . Marlborough ne fut pas de cet avis, et les ducs de Devonshire et de Somerset, et le Comte de Carlisle opposerent fort faisant voir combien cela reflexissoit sur la memoire du R[oi] et que ce n'estoit propre qu'a cause de la division mais la R[eine] voulu deferer aux avis de son oncle." Rijks Archief, 26A. The rest of the letter is in L'Hermitage's illegible hand, but this part is the work of a secretary. It is improbable that Anne wrote the address herself, as it was not customary. Even William apologized for drawing up his own speech. *Py. Hist.*, V. 403. The Duke of Somerset was responsible for the part of her speech relating to Scotland. See *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53.



ment,<sup>1</sup> nevertheless remained a thorough believer in hereditary right. Moreover, she appreciated the force of the Jacobite sentiment which demanded that the Pretender should succeed her, and she grew cold at the mention of the foreign princess whom parliament had designated as her successor. There was magic in the name of Stuart, as no royal house in England "ever inspired such enthusiastic loyalty, such passionate love. . . . For no other princes was blood so generously poured forth. . . . The indignant pity bestowed upon Louis XVI and his queen is a poor, cold thing, beside a deathless devotion to the Queen of Scots, the reverential loyalty to Charles I. These emotions surely spring not from mere ideas, they rise out of the remarkable personalities, and the 'sense of tears in human life.'"<sup>2</sup>

After making proper allowance for the natural bias of a Scot for the Stuarts, there still remains a large amount of truth in this statement. Not alone for Charles I did English gentlemen cheerfully sacrifice their all, but for his sons and grandsons as well. After the exile of James II, even after the fatal battle of the Boyne, a large number of men and women continued to look forward to the day when the "King over the Water" might return as their constitutional ruler. When he died, they gave their loyal support to his son in the expedition of 1708, as well as in the rebellion of 1715, which sought to place James Edward upon the English throne. Undismayed at his failure and moral degradation, the Jacobites made a last despairing effort at Culloden to secure the British crown for "Bonny Prince Charlie."

<sup>1</sup> A fair statement of the position of the moderate Whigs and Tories is set forth in *Faults on Both Sides*, p. 47. "We know that the queen has both an hereditary and parliamentary title, but without the latter, she had not now so happily filled the throne."

<sup>2</sup> Shield and Lang, *The King Over the Water*, pp. 2-3; Kent, p. 16.

The queen was prepared at all times to make the most of this unquestioned loyalty and she was encouraged by the manifestation of universal joy at her accession, which was probably never equalled except in 1660.<sup>1</sup> In her first speech to parliament she made an open appeal for the sympathy and support of the people, while she also clearly stated that she stood for the Protestant succession, for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and for the union with Scotland. The problem of the succession touched her in a manner peculiarly personal. There had been a time when it was thought Anne might marry George Louis, now Elector of Hanover; but the attitude of the young Hanoverian prince was unfavorable, and William of Orange opposed the match.<sup>2</sup> Since that time there had been little cordiality between Princess Anne and the elector, a feeling very much accentuated by the open scandal in the latter's marital relations which thoroughly disgusted Anne, who in her day must have been considered a prude.

Even worse than this, in the queen's eyes, were the elector's Low Church sympathies, which aroused her fears for the church in case he should ever rule England. Probably most disturbing of all, to her, was the fact that her own half-brother was the legitimate heir to the throne. To a change in the law of succession whereby the Pretender might succeed her, Anne doubtless would have consented, had he not been a Catholic. His faith was not only a powerful objection in her mind, which rarely looked, in religious matters, beyond the immediate welfare of the Established Church, but it was also a most practical obstacle to his favorable reception by the masses.

The difficulties of having a straightforward policy

<sup>1</sup> T. Salmon, *Mod. Hist.*, XXV. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Monmouth and Danby also opposed the marriage. Ryan, I. 73-6.

were accentuated by the fact that a large portion of the people fully expected James Edward, having renounced Catholicism, to succeed Anne. This party was both large and influential, and had to be conciliated, if the Tories were to remain in power. All plans for accomplishing this purpose were much to the liking of the queen, who desired the continuance of Tory supremacy.<sup>1</sup>

The war was inextricably mixed up with the succession and the fate of the Pretender, whose recognition by Louis XIV precipitated England into the conflict. The real object of the French monarch in thus consoling the dying moments of the royal exile still remains in doubt, but there was no question in the minds of the English people that, in case he was successful in the war, Louis intended to impose James Edward and Catholicism upon England.<sup>2</sup> It would certainly have been a dark day for England had not the queen's inherent English antipathy for France in general and for the French monarch in particular, urged her to wage a war to curb the restless ambition of the greatest European monarch since Charles V.

Foreign war was complicated by the peculiar position of Scotland, which was lukewarm at times in its opposition to France. Since Elizabeth's death, England and Scotland had been governed by one sovereign and two legislative bodies. Trouble inevitably resulted from this peculiar relation, and the situation was especially critical

<sup>1</sup> Mahon, I. 10, 37; Macaulay, *Essay on Addison*; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life and Reign of her late Excellent Majesty, Queen Anne*, p. 27. There were numerous royal addresses, many of which appear to have been inspired by the court. One from the North Riding, December 20, 1701, reads: "It is plain that there is no faith to be kept with that monarch, and we doubt not it was done to put new life into a *Party* mourning for their deceased *abdicated king*, and lay a foundation for fresh and lasting troubles in these kingdoms." *Vox Populi* (1701). See also Luttrell, V. 91, sq.; James, III. 158; W. Michael, *Eng. Gesch.*, I. 229.

at Anne's accession, because the rapid growth of trade, and the unsuccessful attempt of the Scots to settle Darien had accentuated the rivalry of the two nations, already sufficiently exasperated on account of the differences in race, religion, and habits. Under such trying conditions, a parliamentary union was essential to the continued welfare of each country, but whether it could be accomplished by compromise or only by conquering the northern kingdom, was problematical. Indeed, from the peculiar temperament of the Scot and the mutual hatred felt by both races, conquest would seem the more probable method. At this juncture, it was indeed a happy omen for both kingdoms that the new sovereign represented the Scottish house of Stuart, and displayed great interest in promoting negotiations for the union.

With three such important points of policy as the war, the union, and the Act of Settlement to carry out, there was urgent need of an efficient administration. If Anne was to *govern*, she must build up a faction to support her. This she attempted in some degree to do, but her policy disappointed both parties alike.<sup>1</sup> Because of her religious sympathies, the Tories expected to gain complete control of the government, an expectation the more probable as Rochester was the leader of the High Church faction. The Jacobites and non-jurors felt that she would make possible the restoration of the hereditary line, at least after her death. On the other hand, the Whigs expected recognition because they were the foremost supporters of the Protestant succession and of the war against Louis.

Contrary to the expectations of the zealous Tories, Anne made no great or sudden changes in the ministry. In compliance with statute law, parliament would sit for

<sup>1</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, f. 488; Macpherson, I. 636; Oldmixon, II. 148; Salomon, p. 10; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 315.

six months after her accession; possibly the queen or her advisers thought it would be well to test the temper of the people towards their new sovereign before making any considerable alterations. In the meantime, Anne began rewarding personal friends, displaying throughout a steady determination to have her own way. Almost immediately, she nominated her husband generalissimo of the forces, as well as lord high admiral. She even intimated that she would not continue the war against France unless he were made commander-in-chief of all the allied forces.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, she gave way only after the Dutch made it clear that they would never consent to such an arrangement, inasmuch as the prince possessed scarcely a single qualification for the place.<sup>2</sup>

Although her first desire was to honor her husband, she was also anxious to reward intimate acquaintances. Before five days had passed, she had dispatched Marlborough, the husband of her bosom friend, to Holland as "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary" to assure the Dutch of her co-operation in the Grand Alliance. On the same day, Marlborough was also honored with the Garter, and the following day he was made captain general.<sup>3</sup> The year had not yet closed before the queen created him a duke, and bestowed an enormous pension upon him, which caused old John Evelyn to grumble about the avarice of the Marlboroughs.\* Lady Marlborough was the queen's dearest friend, and was at once rewarded. Not only was she made groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and keeper of the privy purse, but she received in addition, the rangiership of Windsor

<sup>1</sup> L'Hermitage to Heinsius, March 10, 1702, Rijks Archief, 26A; Cunningham, I. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough's letter to Heinsius, April 27, 1702, urged the appointment. Rijks Archief, 26A. See also Von Noorden, I. 204.

<sup>3</sup> James, III. 198; Luttrell, V. 152; *Annals*, I. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary* (1827), III. 397.

Park, for which she had expressed a desire years before. Anne had already bestowed substantial wedding gifts upon each of the duchess's daughters, and at her accession, appointed two of them ladies of the bedchamber.<sup>1</sup>

Other friends were not forgotten. The Marquis of Normanby had paid court to Lady Anne while she was still in her teens and would gladly have married her. Her father and her uncle, Charles II, made it clear to the presumptuous young noble that he was no match for the king's niece, who might sometime be queen. During the passing years, Normanby had retained Anne's friendship and was one of the first to welcome her as the new sovereign. His compensation was prompt; almost at once, he was made lord privy seal and shortly afterwards, Duke of Buckingham.<sup>2</sup> Zealous High Churchmen, similarly rewarded because they were personally acceptable to the queen, were Dr. Hooper, Nottingham, who was appointed secretary of state,<sup>3</sup> and Seymour, who, much to his disappointment, received only the comptrollership of the household,<sup>4</sup> succeeding Wharton, whom Anne disliked on account of his profanity, atheism, and extreme licentiousness.

While her memory for her friends was excellent, she did not forget her political and personal enemies. In fact, she saw to it that Wharton's staff was taken from him and given to his successor before his face. Almost

<sup>1</sup> *Angliæ Notitia* (1704), p. 523.

<sup>2</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7076, f. 168; Burnet, V. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Tr. Papers* (1702-7), 18 May, 1702. For a time, the report was that he would be selected as lord chancellor. L'Hermitage's letter to Heinsius, Rijks Archief, 26A. Nottingham had favored Anne in her fight in 1688 to secure a special grant from parliament. Kennett, *History*, III. 547.

<sup>4</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A. Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, f. 117. He accepted the place to keep out a Whig. Leadam says that Seymour was appointed through the influence of his wife. *Polit. Hist.*, p. 3. See also Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7070, f. 55.

immediately, his name, as well as those of Somers and Halifax, was stricken from the list of the Privy Council, because they were obnoxious to the queen.<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Macclesfield, after the Rye House Plot, had accused her father of being responsible for the suicide of the Earl of Essex. This had grieved Anne very much, and upon her accession, he was deprived of all his offices.<sup>2</sup> Still others lost their places as they met with her displeasure. These appointments and dismissals tended to make her secure with the Tory leaders, but most unpopular abroad.<sup>3</sup> This feeling did not in the least check the queen, for her policy was first of all to become popular at home.

Another step gained her party political power where it was most needed—in the House of Lords. After the Revolution, William created such a goodly number of Whig peers, that the Tories found abundant cause for complaint in the attitude of the upper house.<sup>4</sup> Partly to silence the grumbling of the Tories in the Commons and partly to increase her own power over legislation, Anne created five new peers in 1703.<sup>5</sup> Even here, the influence

<sup>1</sup> Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 21B. The report was current that Anne struck out Wharton's name with her own hand. See Macky, *Memoirs*, p. 23. By the beginning of 1704, Wharton's name is again found in the list of the council. P. C. Reg., LXXX. i, 1. Cf. *ib.*, LXXIX. 32. See also Chamberlen, p. 23; *Acts Privy Council*, Col. V. 660, 662, 665.

<sup>2</sup> Strickland, XI 216. *Notes & Queries* (3d series), VIII. 66-7, says that Macclesfield died 5 Nov., 1701, but Luttrell gives the date as 29 Dec., 1702. *Brief Relation*, V. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A. The Dutch objected in particular to Buckingham.

<sup>4</sup> It was not the creations of the king which changed the political complexion of the House of Lords of 1688. It is true that he created thirty peers, but four were Tories, and seven others were eldest sons who were called up to the Lords. William's additions helped, but the change in the attitude of the bishops and the absence of Jacobites and non-jurors were the factors mainly responsible. A. S. Turberville, *House of Lords in the Reign of William III*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Luttrell, V. 275-6; see Leadam, p. 35.

of the personal element is evident, since she was prevailed upon not only to ennoble four violent Tories but one steadfast Whig as well, because he was a friend of the Duchess of Marlborough.<sup>1</sup> The four new Tory creations, and to a less extent, the promotion of Buckingham, were due to political reasons. Nothing has ever been made of this precedent. It is really surprising that so much is made of the dozen creations in 1711 and so little of the making of the five in 1703, when the purpose in each case was identical—to destroy the Whig power in the House of Lords, or, to be more accurate, to give the Tories a working majority there.<sup>2</sup>

The queen was no more considerate of the Whig ministry left her by William. Nor could she be expected to entertain a decided reverence for the late king's memory, his policies, or his advisers. Not a few of his supporters had given umbrage, either through their attitude towards her or by their activity against her father, while some of William's opponents had earned her gratitude by their factious opposition. To Anne's way of thinking, those who had snubbed her in former days must be punished, and her faithful adherents must be rewarded.

Although such changes as she made were gradual, their bearing upon politics, both foreign and domestic, was very direct. The selection of Nottingham and Seymour, two of the leading Tory zealots, had gained her assistance in quarters where William had been most unpopular. Sir Charles Hedges was made the other secretary of state, partly, it may be surmised, because he had been dismissed by William, but more largely, it would appear, because Nottingham refused to serve without him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 297-300.

<sup>2</sup> "Great reflections were made upon this promotion." Burnet, V. 66.

<sup>3</sup> "The Tories would trust none but Nottingham, and he would serve with none but Hedges." Burnet, V. 10. Additional information may be found



Jersey was given the place of lord chamberlain, although he was strongly suspected of Jacobite sentiments, as was Ormond, who became master of horse.<sup>1</sup>

The most important appointment made by the queen at this time was that of Godolphin as lord high treasurer. He was a lifelong friend, to whom she had been under the deepest obligations for making a satisfactory settlement of her debts while she was still a princess. His ability as a financier, moreover, was well known, and Marlborough informed the queen that England could endure the financial burdens of the war, only if Godolphin were given control of the exchequer.<sup>2</sup> These two facts, added to his friendship for the queen, account for his selection as her financial adviser and as the real leader in the ministry itself; yet it is doubtful if the Marlboroughs could have dictated her choice of first minister, had it not been along the line of her own inclinations.<sup>3</sup> Soon after this, Godolphin was honored with an earldom.

Godolphin's appointment greatly disappointed Rochester, who, as the Tory leader, had fully expected this office from his niece.<sup>4</sup> She, however, was by no means in full sympathy with him, because of his earlier attitude toward her. Yet she was unwilling to punish him, if he were really loyal. At the close of William's reign, he had been recalled as lord lieutenant of Ireland, but the necessary legal papers had not been made out. As a result, one of Anne's first acts was to continue him as the head of Irish affairs and as a member of the Privy

on this point in Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7070, f. 55, 7074, f. 123; Rijks Archief, 26A.

<sup>1</sup> Stepney Papers, 7070, f. 109; John Hervey, *Letter Books*, I. 161-2.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin was reluctant to accept the responsibilities of office until Marlborough convinced him that his services were indispensable. See I. S. Leadam, "The Finance of Godolphin," *Trans. R. H. S.* (3d series), vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> H. Elliot, *Godolphin*, pp. 194-5; Thomson, I. 324-5.

<sup>4</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A.

Council.<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, his elder brother, was more uncompromising in his demeanor and steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to Anne, as he had done in the case of William. When he came to court, the queen refused to see him, and he was informed that he was *persona non grata* until he had taken the proper oaths. He continued obstinate, however, and retired sorrowfully from Westminster. Despite all this, Anne did not forget that he was her uncle, and in a short time bestowed upon him a pension of £1,500.<sup>2</sup>

The queen made other important changes. "The Earl of Abingdon, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, . . . Grenville, Howe, . . . Gower, Harcourt, with several others who had, during the last reign, expressed the most violent and unrelenting aversion to the whole administration were now brought to the council board, and put in good posts."<sup>3</sup> This new ministry was in most instances the personal choice of the queen and reflects her decided preference for the High Church Tories. However, they could not hope that the Whig parliament elected late in 1701 would carry out their policies; so the Tory leaders were compelled to turn their attentions to winning the election of 1702.

In the meantime, the queen had taken steps to increase her personal popularity. Ten days after her accession, parliament voted Anne the same civil list as they had

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Reg., LXXIX. 36; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, f. 103; Von Noorden, I. 193; Luttrell, V. 154; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), p. 402. Two days later it was reported that he was to be raised to a duke. Luttrell, V. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Coke, III. 127; Luttrell, V. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, V. 10; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), p. 389. "Jack" Howe's only claim to preference seems to have been his indecent hostility to William III. *D. N. B.*, art. "Howe." See also *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. xl. Portland and Bentinck were also summarily dismissed from all their employments. Ryan, pp. 389-92.

William.<sup>1</sup> To gain the affections of her people, she agreed to apply for £700,000 in order to have the opportunity of publicly and ostentatiously bestowing a large part of it for the administration of public affairs. It is obvious that she might have accomplished the same financial purpose in a more modest manner by making it known that £600,000 would have been sufficient for her needs.<sup>2</sup> Such a method, however, did not suit Anne, for it was not her primary aim, it seems, to bring pecuniary aid to an embarrassed government, but to gain public applause for herself. Her address to the Commons, upon giving her assent to the revenue bills, reads like a special appeal. She said in part: "I return to you my kind and hearty thanks, for continuing to me, for my life, the same revenue you had granted to the king: I will take great care that it shall be managed to the best advantage; and while my subjects remain under the burthen of such great taxes, I will straiten myself . . . , rather than not contribute all I can to their ease and relief, with a just regard to . . . the honor and dignity of the Crown. It is probable that the revenue may fall very short of what it has formerly produced, however I will give directions that £100,000 be applied to the public service, in this year, out of the revenues, you have so unanimously given me."<sup>3</sup>

Such a move could scarcely have been inspired by the penurious Marlborough, or the serious Godolphin, who never fully appreciated the force of public sentiment. It sounds far more like the work of Anne herself than that of either of them. The effect was exactly what she

<sup>1</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7078, f. 76.

<sup>2</sup> A feeling prevailed that £700,000 was too much for a queen, as her expenses would be less than those of an active king. Cf. Wyon, I. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 11. George V has done the same when his civil list is £230,000 less. *N. Y. Times*, 3 April, 1916. In spite of her grant, Anne's civil expenses were greater than William's. Add. MSS., 30201, ff. 39-81.

anticipated, as this portion of her speech. "was received with great applause, and particular notice was taken of it in all the addresses that came up afterward."<sup>1</sup> Anne cared little for money, so when she felt the public pulse and found it did not respond properly to the large civil list which had been granted, she chose to give way graciously to this sentiment and gain popular favor.

Anne spoke on this occasion to the entire nation, but there were others of her actions that were more special in their appeal. There is space here to mention but one. She felt acutely the extent to which the scandalous position of the lower clergy reflected upon the church, for they were little higher socially than the poorest peasant or day laborer; their training was slight, and their compensation slighter, often as little as £5 per annum.<sup>2</sup> Since the time of Henry VIII, it had been the prerogative of the crown to enjoy the "first-fruits and tenths"<sup>3</sup> from all ecclesiastical benefices. This would have been an onerous burden upon the poorer clergy had the first fruits and tenths not followed the trend of all similar English taxes, and become fixed at £17,000.<sup>4</sup> Even then, this tax was felt as an injustice by the clergy, so the queen sought to curry favor with the High Church clergy and their parishioners by setting the tax aside as a fund for the poor clergy. This gained her the loyal support of the lower clergy, which she never lost, although her donation failed completely to give the needy parish priests any immediate relief.<sup>5</sup> Altogether, her address and the

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 4; Luttrell, V. 158; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, f. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Wharton, *Defense of Pluralities*, p. 185; Ashton, *Social Life*, II. 129.

<sup>3</sup> "First-fruits" were the whole of the first year's revenue, and "tenths" one-tenth of the annual income thereafter.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, V. 120; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 558.

<sup>5</sup> It is today, however, of considerable aid to poor curates. Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 408. Details of the administration of Queen Anne's

gracious reply of the Commons to the same<sup>1</sup> seem like other examples of her desire to curry popular favor.

While the queen was endeavoring to increase her popularity, both political parties were preparing for the elections, which bore little resemblance to those of today. Since 1702, the whole idea of representation has changed, a new basis for suffrage has been found, and an entirely different method of expressing political preferences adopted. The present qualifications for voting in parliamentary elections are simple indeed compared with those existing before 1832. Mr. Porritt's researches brought him to the conclusion that English boroughs possessed over eighty different qualifications for voting for members of parliament.<sup>2</sup> In some, all the freemen voted; in others, all those paying scot and lot; in still others, those who could prove their maintenance of a separate household—the so-called “potwallopers”; while in a fourth type, the franchise was restricted to the corporation, which constantly tended to become more exclusive. Other boroughs had electoral qualifications too numerous and technical to mention. The great industrial cities of a century later had not yet come into existence, and nothing comparable to the inequalities revealed by Charles Grey in 1793 are to be found. Nevertheless, conditions were bad enough when Cornish boroughs sent forty-two members to Westminster, and London but four; when a deer park at Gatton sent as many members to parliament as the thriving cities of Westminster or Bristol; when East Looe and West Looe returned as many members as did the two great counties of Yorkshire and Devonshire, or even the metropolis, which had Bounty are given in the Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Com., and in C. Hodgson, *An Account of the Augmentation of Small Livings*.

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 328-30. See also H. M. Gwatkin, *Church and State in England*, p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> E. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, I. ch. iii.

two hundred times the population and a thousand times the wealth of those insignificant little villages.<sup>1</sup>

The franchise was systematic or uniform only in the counties, where, since the fifteenth century, all forty-shilling freeholders voted for knights of the shire. Even here, however, the real intent of the law was nullified, since forty shillings in 1700 was by no means the same as it had been in the reign of Edward V, when land was the leading, almost the only, source of wealth. Although the county franchise was more liberal than that of the average borough, it was by no means broadly representative of the popular will, because the influence of the landed gentry was predominant, and because all English countries, whatever their population, elected but two members.

There was just as great a variation from present-day conditions in the conduct of elections. Sometimes the elections dragged on forty days, reaching a grand climax on the final day. Bribery and trickery were both easy and possible. Voting was *viva voce*, and an elector was practically at the mercy of his political opponents, who, all too frequently, were incited to violence by their leaders, by whom ale was plentifully supplied at the expense of the candidates. It took real courage to cast an honest vote in the face of a hostile majority, who delighted in rioting on the slightest provocation, and whose methods were anything but gentle once their blood was up. Even under such adverse conditions, it is surprising how frequently electors did express their choice for parliament.

The game of the politician of the early eighteenth century had scarcely begun at the conclusion of the poll. If a member not to the liking of the party leaders was returned, the result might be changed by means of a con-

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, p. 2287; *Py. Hist.*, XIII. 90. See as well, John Locke, *Essay on Civil Government*, Bk. II., ch. xiii.

troverted election petition, which would nullify the expressed will of the constituency, in case the working majority of the party were sufficient. Where it was impossible, however, to find excuse for a double return, the leaders were obliged to accept the member elected, who, unless his honesty was far above the average, was easily made amenable to party discipline by receiving an office of "honor and profit" under the crown. If he were minded to decrease the revenues, he was granted a sinecure where his income depended upon the amount of money which was appropriated and passed through the treasury. If he hungered after social honors, obedience might bring him a baronetcy or even a peerage, while important nobles in his party flattered him with their attentions.<sup>1</sup> The ministry, and frequently even the sovereign in person, took a part in the canvass, which at times amounted to absolute bribery. Such was the situation under William and we must now ascertain whether any changes occurred in the conduct of elections under Anne.

As soon as it was legally possible, the queen issued writs for a new parliament, and the contest was on. The new ministry was Tory, but it was soon apparent that its members were not united in their efforts, as only a bare majority desired a decisive victory for the Tories and worked enthusiastically towards that end.<sup>2</sup> On account of such divided counsels, it has never been entirely clear what part Anne played in this and succeeding elections. One authority believes that she was the first sovereign who ceased to meddle in elections.<sup>3</sup> Such a statement is in perfect accord with the usual conception of the queen,

<sup>1</sup> *Faults on Both Sides*, p. 20; Lecky, I. 435; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 559.

<sup>2</sup> The Marlboroughs and Godolphin, and particularly the duchess, feared the effect upon the war if the Tories grew too strong.

<sup>3</sup> E. Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, I. 407.

and if it refers only to her personal work, it is doubtless true. Being a woman, she could not be as active as a man in political affairs in the early eighteenth century, however much she may have desired to go on an electioneering tour as had her immediate predecessor.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it is a fundamental error to imagine Anne as being entirely passive in elections. The concluding sentence of her address to parliament in closing the session is an exhortation to all High Church adherents. "I shall be very careful to preserve and maintain the Act of Toleration, and to set the minds of all my people at quiet; my own principles must keep me entirely firm to the interests and religion of the Church of England, and will incline me to countenance those which have the truest zeal to support it."<sup>2</sup> The activity of the court in the election may, in the main, be justly assumed as an expression of the sovereign's attitude.

Of this work we are left in no doubt, as two contemporaries so far agree with a third as to quote him *verbatim*. The election resulted as it did "owing to the countenance and encouragement receiv'd from the Court."<sup>3</sup> "The Queen," observed Burnet, "did not openly interpose in the elections, but her informations to the Tories appearing plainly, all people took it for granted that she wished they might be in the majority; this wrought on the inconstancy and servility that is natural to multitudes." According to Archdeacon Coxe, "The Tories, by the influence of the Crown and their own exertions, secured a considerable majority."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Women began to take considerable interest in politics. The duchess, Lady Montagu, Mrs. Masham, Mary Astell, and the Duchess of Somerset were only the most prominent. Hervey, *Letter Books*, I. *passim*; Remusat, I. 149; Ashton, *Social Life*, I. 171. See also *Journal to Stella*.

<sup>2</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Boyer, p. 32; Oldmixon, *Hist. of Eng.*, IV. 292; Chamberlen, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe, I. 101; Coxe Papers, XV. 23. Interesting information on this



To be efficacious, it is not essential that political influence be exerted directly. One method by which the court exercised pressure indirectly was through the clergy. Anne's popularity among them was already large, because she was such a zealous High Church advocate. Thus the lower clergy were strongly on the Tory side, and as political campaigners in the rural areas, they were in a class by themselves, so that the outcome of the election may be attributed largely to the queen's popularity and the interest of the clergy.<sup>1</sup> Burnet gives more influence to the weight of taxation, which drove all but the commercial classes towards the Tories. The latter, moreover, had come out openly in favor of the war,<sup>2</sup> taking away from the Whigs their trump card with which they had planned to win the election.

Not all the ministers were willing to follow the example of the Marlboroughs and allow the election to take care of itself. Nottingham worked every possible moment for the Tories. Nowhere is this so clear as in the case of "Jack" Howe, the vociferous, irrepressible member who had formerly represented Gloucestershire, but had been defeated in the previous election by a close vote. Although fearing the strength of the Whigs in his home county, the Tories felt it a duty to secure his election. Consequently, they placed him in nomination in Gloucestershire, Gloucester City, and Newton in Lancashire. He was elected for the county, despite the attempts of the

election may be found in Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, f. 102, Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28889, f. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Leadam, 25. The Newcastle Papers (Add. MSS., 32686, f. 4) describe the attitude of some of the clergy. Archbishop Sharp refused to use his influence in the election, even at the kindly suggestion of Lady Russell. Sharp, I. 122-4. His great interest is manifest in his letter in the Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29584, ff. 93-4.

<sup>2</sup> *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. vi; Wyon, I. 128; *P. Hist.*, VI. 40.

Whigs to "vote" a number of vagabonds through the influence of a large and noisy mob.<sup>1</sup>

Although Nottingham's main interest may have been in securing Howe's election, he was doing his utmost in other places. At the polls for Northamptonshire and for Higham Ferrers his representatives were most active,<sup>2</sup> while they were exceptionally alert in the elections in the Cinque Ports.<sup>3</sup> At Norwich, his agent was Humphrey Prideaux, who boasted that the success of the Tory candidate was due to his own unaided efforts.<sup>4</sup> In Sussex, in Lancashire, and in Leicestershire, the "dismal" Secretary was planning to overthrow the Whigs,<sup>5</sup> and in many cases he succeeded. In Cheshire, in particular, the Tories rejoiced because they had the "greatest poll that ever was in this county in the memory of man, and being carried by such a majority is a great addition to our joy."<sup>6</sup>

In Yorkshire, Liverpool, Coventry, Maidstone, and Stamford, Nottingham's agents were found diligently engaged.<sup>7</sup> In the west and southwest of England he had the able co-operation of Sir Edward Seymour, who labored incessantly against the Whigs with their commercial instincts and Low Church proclivities. Even thus early in the reign, Seymour displayed considerable animus against Marlborough and Godolphin, which

<sup>1</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 78, 140. On the face of the returns Sir John Guise had twenty-four majority, but in the contest they counted only freeholders and Howe won by 122. Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7076, f. 81. See also *C. J.*, XIV. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29568, f. 114. See also the *Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 23-5.

<sup>3</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 93, 102-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, f. 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, ff. 70, 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, f. 122.

<sup>7</sup> Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29584, f. 94; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 86, 93, 104-6, 117, 129.

probably did much to increase his industry.<sup>1</sup> Sir Christopher Musgrave, Viscount Hatton, and Lord Weymouth also were enthusiastically devoted to High Church interests and worked in conjunction with both Nottingham and Seymour.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Coke, as well, was active in this canvass for a "true Church of England Parliament."<sup>3</sup> His main interest lay in Derby and Leicester. John Ellis, assistant secretary of state, was another who was absorbed in the details of the election.<sup>4</sup> Whig politicians were busy earlier than usual in this section, but the Tories more than held their own in the pollings.

Although there was the usual amount of treating and trickery,<sup>5</sup> the complaints are much less common than in the previous elections. Throughout the realm the pollings were nevertheless very spirited and rioting was not uncommon.<sup>6</sup> The results were probably closer than they had been ten months before, although it is difficult to obtain satisfactory data.<sup>7</sup>

With a slight majority on the face of the returns, it was easy for the Tories, by their decisions in controverted elections, to increase their margin until it was perfectly safe, although the Last Determinations Act of 1696 presented some obstacles. They contested the elections so openly as to show that the "party was resolv'd

<sup>1</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, f. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, ff. 39, 47, 103, 115, 125; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 42-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 14. See also *ib.*, III. 3-34, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28889, ff. 36-40; *ib.*, Add. MSS., 28890, f. 337.

<sup>5</sup> *C. J.*, XIV. 6, 12, 149; XV. 37. Coke provided "three runlets of ale" for his constituents, and was asked to procure a "patent for a free school." *Coke MSS.*, III. 5-7.

<sup>6</sup> *C. J.*, XIV. 6-13; *Morrison MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 465; Coxe Papers, XV. 23; Luttrell, V. 159; Wilson, *Defoe*, II. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXIX. 427, 441. Vryberge's letter to Heinsius, 19 August, 1702, is found in Rijks Archief, 26A. See also Luttrell, V. 192-205. As soon as the pollings were over in England, Seafeld, Secretary of State for Scotland, hurried away to his post to influence the elections there. Boyer, p. 53.

on anything that might serve their ends,"<sup>1</sup> and "that they rather chose themselves than that they were chosen by the people," so that the Commons were "more in the interest of the ministers than that of their sovereign or country."<sup>2</sup> At least thirty elections were violently contested. The poll at Hindon was proven notoriously corrupt;<sup>3</sup> by hook or crook, John Howe was seated from Gloucestershire. The ministry had its way at East Retford,<sup>4</sup> as well as at other places, where "the most bare-faced partiality was discovered . . . in . . . decisions upon controverted elections."<sup>5</sup>

Before these elections could be brought before the lower house, the latter had to organize. Meeting late in the year after repeated prorogations, the Commons immediately proceeded unanimously to re-elect<sup>6</sup> Harley as speaker, since both Whigs and Tories had so much respect for his ability as to prefer him to all other candidates. Thus, by means direct and indirect, through the pollings, the election of a speaker of their own persuasion, and the controverted election petitions, the Tories gained a working majority in the Commons.<sup>7</sup> The High Church attitude of the commoners coincided with Anne's own desire, and she was now able to remodel her ministry to suit her own wishes. Had the plans of such men as Rochester, Nottingham, Seymour, and Howe been either moderate or well considered, they might have secured their

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 48 and Note.

<sup>2</sup> Oldfield, *Parl. Hist.*, p. 376. He makes the usual error of separating the queen from her ministers, when their policy was the same—ardently Tory.

<sup>3</sup> *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. Intro., xvii; *ib.*, 202; Burnet, V. 46; *C. J.*, XIV. 13, 48.

<sup>4</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7078, ff. 76, 181; *C. J.*, XIV. 49-51. The Commons spent a great amount of time upon these elections.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, *Defoe*, II. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7076, f. 165; Cunningham, I. 311.

<sup>7</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 39, 40, 47, 79; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28890, f. 337.

aims with little difficulty, but reasonableness and tact were woefully lacking in this group, and impetuosity and desire for revenge soon got them into considerable difficulties: first, with their constituencies; then, with the House of Lords; and last of all, with the queen.

Anne's speech to both houses in opening the new session resembled her previous addresses. She called attention to the shortage in the revenues, despite the £100,000 "I promised to the last parliament," which had not been sufficient to supply the "deficiency." Lastly, she made the usual bid for public support, particularly for that of the devoted Anglicans: "And as I am resolved," she said, "to defend and maintain the church as by law established, and to protect you in full enjoyment of your rights and liberties; so I rely upon your care to me."

The rough draft of this speech was thoroughly discussed by various members of the ministry. Nottingham apparently had much less to do with its preparation<sup>2</sup> than with the address the queen had delivered in dissolving parliament in July. The preliminary copy of it seems to have been drawn up by Godolphin and Anne, and sent to the speaker for corrections and suggestions.<sup>3</sup> The document was returned over a week later to Godolphin, as requested. It is more than probable that the draft of the speech was sent to Harley with the queen's knowledge, and possibly even at her suggestion, since more than nine weeks before, he had begun his secret visits to the queen, who soon became very fond of him.

This new parliament faced a serious foreign war with Louis XIV to decide the questions of colonial and dynastic

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add MSS., 29588, f. 356; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1702-3, p. 164; *S. P. Dom.*, Entry Bk., CIV. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 47-8. "The Queen appoints half after five tomorrow at her backstairs. You will please send in your name." Godolphin's letter to Harley, July 7, 1702, *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 43.

supremacy. The matters relative to the war were party quarrels rather than disputes between the two houses. The Tories, in the main, had not been anxious for England to enter the land war as a principal, feeling that she had fewer reasons for active war against Louis XIV than had either Holland or the Empire. The Highfliers, in particular, held this view and it seems to have been the fundamental difficulty which brought on their conflict with Marlborough, Godolphin, and the queen;<sup>1</sup> for to the lord treasurer and the general, the vigorous conduct of the war was the one important issue before parliament. Even the Whigs were not as enthusiastically favorable to the war as they had been a few months before, owing partly to the heavy war taxes and partly to the fact that they had lost one of their great leaders, the second Earl of Sunderland, who had died at the conclusion of the elections.

However, the Tories held a position, the weakness and inconsistency of which soon became visible. Unless England entered the conflict as a principal, Holland would not, and without English subsidies, Austria could not co-operate. No one knew this better than Louis XIV. Besides, England was now thoroughly embarked in the war, and considerable success had been achieved by Marlborough and Rooke<sup>2</sup> before the end of the year. With each victory obtained by the allies, the Tory party lost popular support, and their moderate members drifted slowly toward the more patriotic Whigs, while the High Church zealots tended to form a group of irreconcilables. But this was not the only reason they gradually lost public favor.

In the autumn of 1702, the Tories came into power,

<sup>1</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A, L'Hermitage to Heinsius, April 21; Reid, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> For his achievements see his *Journal*; Evelyn, *Diary*, III. 397; Boyer, p. 32; Sismondi, *Hist. Français*, XXVI. 357-8.

filled with a determination to advance the cause of the church and improve the position of their own party. They saw an opportunity to accomplish both purposes at the same time. The Corporation and Test Acts provided that practically all officials, civil and military, before entering upon the performance of their duties, must conform to the Anglican Church, and publicly partake of the sacrament according to its rites. The more conscientious and radical Dissenters could not do this, but those with more easy consciences had early circumvented the plain intent of the law by taking the sacrament once a year at an Anglican Church, and after that, attending such non-conformist services as met their approval. Such officials became known as "occasional conformers," and the practice, as "occasional conformity."<sup>1</sup>

The ardent High Churchmen saw in this custom a travesty upon religion,<sup>2</sup> and were greatly angered because the vast majority of these men were Whigs. If they could be kept from office, there would be just so many more positions to distribute among the faithful Tories. Thus the latter would be able not only to build up their party through patronage, but at the same time to weaken both the Whigs and the Dissenters also, whom they cordially hated. All this they expected to accomplish by the Occasional Conformity Bill, which was introduced into the Commons early in the session and passed without difficulty.<sup>3</sup>

The bill provided that not only the magistrates of corporations but also "all the inferior officers or freemen

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Calamy*, I. 143.

<sup>2</sup> The entire gamut of arguments may be found in such pamphlets as *Moderation Still a Virtue*, *The Mask of Moderation Pulled Off the Foul Face of Occasional Conformity*, *Moderation Truly Stated*, *A View of the Present Controversy*, and many other tracts of the years 1703-1705.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet says it passed by a great majority.

who were found to have any interest in elections," must conform under severe penalties, and it was meant, on the face of it, to weaken the Whigs. Naturally, the House of Lords was greatly alarmed and one hundred and thirty members assembled, "the greatest number that had ever been together." The Whigs were much the stronger and they amended the bill by reducing the fines attached. To these alterations the Commons refused to assent, and after the popular interest had risen to fever heat, the bill went to a conference, for which both sides had marshaled their supporters, so that the Star Chamber, in which the Lords sat at this time, "was the most crowded . . . that had ever been known."<sup>2</sup> They failed to agree, and as the Lords voted after this meeting, the excitement was intense. It was not only a test of strength between Whigs and Tories, between High and Low Church, it was more; it was a struggle between the Commons and the Lords. The court exerted all its influence in favor of the measure. Prince George was an occasional conformer, who partook of the sacrament to qualify as lord high admiral, but continued his private Lutheran chapel.<sup>3</sup> Yet he attended the Lords at the behest of his wife and voted for the bill. Much to the surprise of the Highfliers, many spiritual lords opposed the measure, Burnet among the number.

On three different portions of the bill, the majority against it was only one, but in each case a different man gave the deciding vote.<sup>4</sup> The Commons refused to yield

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 63-4.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 53, 108-9.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, I. 172. The prince was an alien and Godolphin was worried lest the bill might put him in an embarrassing position. So Granville waited on Anne to ascertain if she thought it advisable to include in the bill a clause exempting her consort from its provisions. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Parl. Debates* (Turlock), III. 332; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV. 398. Several of the bishops had been appointed by William, who thought they should labor



and the measure was lost, leaving the Tories furious against Dissenters and bishops alike. However, the bill refused to remain dead, but came back later to haunt the Whigs.

Indeed, in the next session, another was introduced in the Commons, as such men as Seymour, Bromley, and Rochester would never lose an opportunity to gain popularity by professing zeal for the church.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, the temper of the people had changed and Anne's zeal for the measure had cooled.<sup>2</sup> In concluding her address on opening the second session of her first parliament, she said: "Let me therefore desire you all, that you carefully avoid any heats or divisions that may disappoint me of that satisfaction [harmony], and give encouragement to the common enemies of our church and state."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the queen's ideas of the merits of the bill remained as before. "I shall not have the worse opinion of the lords that are for it; for though I should have been very glad, if it had not been brought into the Commons, because I would not have any pretense for quarrelling, I can't help thinking, now it is as good as past . . . the Lords too, . . . I see nothing like persecution in this bill."<sup>4</sup> Doubtless, she feared the consequence of strife between the houses, when England was at death-grips with France. Moreover, Anne had been made aware of the great opposition of the commercial classes to the bill; whereas the defection of the bishops and the

for a reconciliation with the Dissenters. Burnet asserts that the five peers were created to carry this measure. *Other Side*, p. 194. See Defoe's *Review*, II. No. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Remusat, I. 148; Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 33084, f. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistol. Cor. of Dr. Atterbury*, III. 132; Burnet, V. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, VI. 151, 155-8; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 157-9, 297-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Conduct*, p. 154; Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29568, f. 151; Thomas, p. 132.

curtain lectures of Burnet may have proved to the queen that her duty was to conciliate the non-conformists,<sup>1</sup> whose power was increasing.

Despite Anne's plainly expressed desire that the strife over occasional conformity should cease, the Tory leaders persisted, although they softened down considerably the provisions of the second bill. On the previous attempt, it passed the Commons by a large majority, practically without discussion. This time it was fairly debated, but the vote was still strongly in its favor; it was sent up to the peers, and a tiresome debate ensued. Each side was reasonably confident, particularly the Highfliers.<sup>2</sup> The court was not so zealous as before in bringing up supporters; Prince George, with his wife's consent, not only failed to attend, but even neglected to send his proxy.<sup>3</sup> The motion for a second reading was lost 71 to 59, and 23 peers formally dissented, among them Marlborough and Godolphin.<sup>4</sup>

The queen's attitude was so tactful that she lost neither Whig nor Tory support by her husband's action. Yet the extreme Highfliers were thoroughly enraged and more determined than ever. They took the bit firmly in their teeth and tried to run away with Anne and her moderate ministers. The queen was now thoroughly convinced of the inherent selfishness of the more ardent supporters of the bill, and later her influence was un-

<sup>1</sup> Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 401; Thomson, I. 408-11.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS., 9712, f. 53; Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 33084, f. 172; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28891, f. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Luttrell, V. 369. Anne said: "Mr. Bromley will be disappointed, for the Prince does not intend to go to the House, when the bill of occasional conformity is brought in; but at the same time I think him very much in the right not to vote in it." She was broad-minded enough to tolerate George's Low Church ideas.

<sup>4</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, VI. 171; Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29568, f. 151. In the vote there were 29 proxies, 17 for, and 12 against, the bill.

equivocally thrown in the scales against them, largely on account of their ungenerous and tactless behavior. They refused to take their defeat philosophically, but immediately began crying that the church was in danger, an accusation which the queen considered a personal insult and a direct reflection upon her administration, especially since they further insisted that her ministry and the bishops were little better than fanatics.

These peers were close to the truth when they charged Godolphin and Marlborough with double-dealing, inasmuch as both secretly opposed the bill, while voting in its favor.<sup>1</sup> Anne, though unquestionably desiring legislation against Dissenters, was yet unwilling to countenance such disaffection from the Tories. Defoe's satirical pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, made these men angry when the hoax was made known, but Anne stood between them and their victim.<sup>2</sup> Her sympathy for Defoe marked the first step in her gradual drift toward the Whigs. Her feeling relative to the factiousness of Rochester, Nottingham, and others is well set forth in her speech closing the session. Sorrow is shown for the failure of the Tories to follow her advice, as well as a determination to insist upon her own views. "I am not discouraged," she said, "from persisting in the same earnest desire that you would go down into your several counties so disposed to moderation and unity, as becomes all those which are joined together in the same religion and interest."<sup>3</sup> The effect of this address upon the people was considerable, but upon the persistent High-

<sup>1</sup> Consult the *Parliamentary History* (VI. 170) for the votes and the *Portland MSS.* (IV. 155) for Godolphin's letter to Harley. See also Wharton's *Memoirs*, p. 40; J. Stoughton, *Religion in England*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Port. MSS.*, IV. 68. At first Anne was not in favor of releasing Defoe. Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 336.

fiers and Jacobites it was entirely lost. They were still resolved upon extreme measures at the earliest opportunity and rejoiced that ample time was given them between the sessions to prepare their plans.

Anne's speech at the opening of the next session reiterated her desire for concord between the warring factions, and she coupled with it an earnest appeal for the sympathetic co-operation of both houses. Even this failed to change in the slightest the determination of Jersey, Nottingham, and Buckingham, as they were resolute in their war against occasional conformists, who communicated with the Anglican Church in order to profit by holding public offices. Almost as soon as parliament opened, therefore, leave was given to bring in another bill to prevent occasional conformity.<sup>1</sup> Its supporters knew that the Lords would never pass the measure on its own merits, so they decided to append it to some vital bill. Probably the most important act before parliament was the four-shilling land tax, which brought in the greatest revenue to the government of any tax levied,<sup>2</sup> and was necessary for the continuation of the war. Since its passage was of such moment, the Tories decided to "tack" their bill to it. Accordingly, William Bromley, after a lengthy speech in its favor, moved that it be tacked to the land tax bill.<sup>3</sup>

The issue was now squarely drawn between the two houses; it not only raised the question of the power of the Lords over revenue measures, but was in direct opposition to their resolution passed two years before at the recommendation of Halifax. He had foreseen the proba-

<sup>1</sup> Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, f. 225; *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 168; Luttrell, V. 486; Burton, I. 89.

<sup>2</sup> It produced about £4,000,000. See *Py. Hist.*, V. App. xix.

<sup>3</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 360; Chamberlen, p. 174; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. 229.

bility of a "tack" upon the first introduction of this bill, and moved "that the annexing any clause to a money bill was contrary to the constitution . . . and the usage of Parliament."<sup>1</sup>

"Tacking" was not such an exceptional procedure, since in the reign of William alone at least three attempts were made to interfere with the financial powers of parliament. With this experience fresh in mind, both parties awaited with the keenest interest the outcome of Bromley's motion, because a quarrel between the houses would have been fatal to administrative efficiency during the war. It was really a critical moment in English history, as both the friends and foes of the bill expected it to pass. The lower house realized the danger, however, and hesitated to assume responsibility for an open breach with the Lords, so after a long and spirited debate the Commons themselves defeated<sup>2</sup> the "tack" 251 to 134, and a disagreeable quarrel between the houses was averted. The result appears, on the face of it, as a splendid illustration of the influence of the court and of the strength of such moderate Tories as Harley and St. John, whom the excessive aggressiveness of the extreme Tories had offended.<sup>3</sup>

However, the Highfliers were not at the end of their resources; they now passed the original bill through the Commons and sent it up to the Lords without the "tack." For the third time, the contest was close, but not so close as before, since a greater number realized the truth in Lord Mohun's statement that "if they passed the bill, they had as good tack the pretended Prince of Wales to

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Calamy*, I. 465; *Memoirs of Halifax*, p. 89; Chamberlen, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 362; Luttrell, V. 492; *Coke MSS.*, III. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Seventeen of the eighteen members from the Cinque Ports voted against it. See Oldmixon, IV. 346; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 364; *Somers' Tracts*, XII. 469-76; *Bath MSS.*, I. 64-5; Coxe, I. 249.

it,"<sup>1</sup> and the motion to read it a second time was lost 71 to 50,<sup>2</sup> although it came up again a few years later.

The queen was piqued at the crude methods of the "tackers" and gave unmistakable expression to her displeasure. A few moderate Tories feared an alliance between the Highfliers and the radical Whigs, which might drive the ministry from office. The equally adroit and mysterious Defoe assured Harley that such a "confederacy" had been broached between the two factions. He even suggested that the ministry might use the immoderate hatred of the High Church Tories for the Dissenters to discredit the Highfliers, not only with the people but with Anne as well, and it is at least probable that the leading ministers did utilize the bill for their own purpose.<sup>3</sup> At any rate, the Tory zealots, expecting to show the queen their real strength through the "tack," lost instead the support of able leaders in their own party, who became more closely allied with the junto as time went on.<sup>4</sup> In this struggle of the houses over religion, the Whigs had won, and the Highfliers had lost the active assistance of their best friend, the queen, who was forced to turn to the moderate Tories and Whigs for support.

There were two principles at stake in this contest over occasional conformity—that of religious toleration and

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Calamy*, II. 27. Calamy thought that the measure would have been disastrous to England. Two short pamphlets, *A Brief Account of the Tack* (1705 ?) and *The Character of a "Tacker" and "Anti-Tacker"* (1705), give a splendid conception of the feeling against the "tackers." The description of the "tacker" is almost humorous. See also Defoe's *Review*, May 12, 1705.

<sup>2</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 368.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 148. See also on this point *Bath MSS.*, I. 64; Defoe's *Review*, III. 177; Harrop, *Bolingbroke*, p. 29; Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 413.

<sup>4</sup> *Faults on Both Sides*, p. 27; James, III. 275.

that of the power of the Commons over taxation. Eventually, the rights of Dissenters were left unchanged, and the right of the Commons to take the lead in matters of taxation was reaffirmed. In another sense, the failure of the High Church Tories lessened the influence of the church in politics and strengthened for the moment the queen's prerogative, although it eventually threw Anne more and more into the power of the Whigs, who gradually gained ground until by the summer of 1705 the ministry was Whig in fact, if not in name.

The contest between the houses over religion was not the only one during this parliament, as they had clashed early over a question of jurisdiction, and this time the Commons were the aggressors throughout. In William's reign the latter had displayed an arrogance not frequently seen in a representative body, when they cast into jail certain Kentish petitioners, who had aroused their wrath by suggesting, with war so imminent, that the Commons should turn from loyal addresses to a consideration of bills of supply. Early in Anne's reign, the Commons displayed the same factious disposition in regard to Scottish affairs. Since the time of the Tudors, Scotland had been a fertile field for plots against England. Under the Stuart kings such plots were numerous enough, but they grew apace after 1688, as a large portion of the Scots were kindly disposed towards James II and his sons, and the foremost Scottish statesmen intrigued almost openly in favor of the Chevalier. The avarice of other time-serving Scots, and their willingness to serve any party or master who paid them well increased the number of plots, but numerous as they were in reality, the imagination of English officials multiplied them.

Simon Fraser stands as one of the unprincipled rascals of history. Early in the reign he had come from France with a forged letter, purporting to be from St. Germain,

and presumably addressed to Athol, Scottish privy seal.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Queensberry, the queen's commissioner in Scotland, in haste to take advantage of the suspicion thus cast on his dreaded rival, at once sent the queen word of the conspiracy. In the meantime, several supposed traitors were seized in England, the most important of whom was Sir John Maclean, equally famous as a Highland chieftain and Jacobite. The queen's fears were increased by Queensberry's message, and in a speech before parliament, she promptly called attention to the danger, promising to lay the evidence before them as soon as possible.<sup>2</sup>

The Whig peers rejoiced at this opportunity to display their enthusiasm for the Protestant succession, and vie with the Tory commoners in securing the queen's good will. Immediately, a select committee was appointed to examine the prisoners. This plan, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would supersede the ordinary legal procedure, and the Commons strenuously objected, but before they could take action, Anne intimated that Maclean's examination was too technical a point for this committee to handle, and the peers agreed. Yet the lower house persisted and embodied their grievance in an address to the queen. The peers replied, only to be criticized, and the case dragged on and the recriminations might have taken even more the form of an endurance contest, had not the queen cooled their ardor by a tactful

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., vols. 31249 to 31253, *passim*; *Annals* (1703), p. 189; Lockhart's *Memoirs*, pp. 76-87; Burnet, V. 96; *Caveat against the Whigs*, pp. 46-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 172-4. The contemporary evidence of this plot is extensive. Add. MSS., 20311; Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29587, ff. 124-56; Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34526, f. 80B; Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CLXXX. 93-6, 407-47; S. P. Dom., Anne, I. 66, III. 104; S. P. Dom., Sec. Letter Books, CIV. 385, sq.; Add. MSS., 9712, f. 55; Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 25.



address to the Lords. "I hope," she said, "none of my subjects have any desire to lessen my prerogative, since I have no thought of making use of it but for their protection and advantage. I look upon it as a great misfortune, when any misunderstandings happen between the two houses."<sup>1</sup> This insinuation was not intended entirely for the upper house, and its meaning could not have been lost upon the Commons. The power of the crown would have suffered if this committee of the Lords had passed on the case. When the Commons urged Anne to take complete charge of the case, she replied through the lord steward "that the examination relating to Sir John Maclean is a matter of nicety and great importance, that it will be inconvenient to take it out of the method of examination it is now in, and she will, in a short time, communicate the same to this House."<sup>2</sup> The outcome of the struggle was indecisive, but the Lords are usually thought to have gained popularity by their publication of the precedents in the case.

However, this struggle was neither so bitter, nor so important, nor its bearing on the powers and privileges of the house so direct as the celebrated Aylesbury case. December 26, 1700, William III issued writs for a parliamentary election. At the poll in Aylesbury, Ashby presented himself to the constables as a duly qualified voter,<sup>3</sup> but they refused to allow him to vote, despite the fact that he had previously exercised the privilege un-

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 224; Coke, III. 161, 170; Luttrell, V. 372. To one interested in English constitutional history, the quarrel is important. Each house searched for precedents and the results are found in the *Parliamentary History*, VI. 172, 338. The Lords' report is particularly well written.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS., 22263, f. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet suspected that a corrupt bargain had been made with the constables by one of the candidates. Cf. *The Life and Reign of her late Excellent Majesty, Queen Anne*, p. 230. Burnet, V. 114; Defoe, *Legion's Humble Address*.

questioned. Thereupon, Ashby sued White, one of the constables, for damages, and was granted a verdict of £5 at the county assizes. Appeal was taken to the Queen's Bench, where the verdict was reversed by a divided court, Chief Justice Holt dissenting, on the ground that in cases involving the right of suffrage and elections, the Commons had exclusive jurisdiction. Forthwith the case was brought before the High Court of Parliament on a writ of error. This tribunal, the highest court of appeals in England—in reality nothing more than the peers sitting in their judicial capacity—reversed the decision of the Queen's Bench.<sup>1</sup>

Once more the Commons were alarmed about so great an assumption of power by the peers, and again Anne had to act as peacemaker, as the lower house immediately made its feelings known. Little could then be accomplished, as parliament was soon prorogued and both sides stopped for breath. In the interim, Ashby proceeded to execute judgment, and five other aggrieved voters brought suits against the constables. The Commons saw one of its historical privileges in danger of invasion—its most prized right of deciding all matters with reference to parliamentary elections and membership in the Commons—and in their wrath they committed Ashby and his associates to Newgate.

The Lords could not long remain silent under such a challenge. At first all they could do was to encourage Ashby to ask the Court of Queen's Bench for a writ of *habeas corpus*.<sup>2</sup> In keeping with its former stand, this

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell, V. 380; Hallam, *Const. Hist.* (1880 ed.), III. 264; *State Trials*, XIV. 695-888. The Lords also sent a copy of their decision to the sheriffs who should communicate them to their respective boroughs. *Py. Hist.*, VI. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 188. Ashby seems to have been a hostler, and had a hard time keeping out of the rank of pauper during the trial. Wharton was supposed to be backing him. *Ib.*, V. 190; Wyon, I. 318.

tribunal refused to grant the writ against the commitment of the Commons,<sup>1</sup> Chief Justice Holt once more dissenting. Angered by this decision, Ashby's supporters threatened to do the most obvious thing left them—carry the case before the Lords on a writ of error. The Commons at once became excited and petitioned the queen against the writ. Receiving little satisfaction, their fears got the better of their discretion, and they ordered that the "Aylesbury men might be discharged from their imprisonment . . . and taken into custody of the sergent-at-arms," of the Commons. The situation was a delicate one, particularly for Anne. On the one hand, the Lords were struggling to secure to the individual a property interest in his vote, on the other, the Commons were standing for their accustomed right of passing upon the qualifications of their own members.

Despite the fact that the legality of the whole matter was in doubt, it was now laid before the queen for adjudication. If she favored granting the writ, she openly alienated the men of the lower house, who presumably represented the popular mind; if she refused to consent to the writ, she would appear ungrateful to the house that was carrying out her wishes in legislative affairs. The arguments of the best legal minds may have convinced her that this writ of error was in reality a "writ of right" and could not be refused.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, she begged for a few days to consider the matter, and this element of time saved the whole situation, as she saw to

<sup>1</sup> Howell, *State Trials*, XIV. 840; Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, III. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Coke, III. 194. *Py. Hist.*, VI. 385; . . . *Representation and Address of the . . . Lords Spiritual and Temporal . . . , presented to Her Majesty (1704)*. The best brief account of the case is given by H. R. Shipman, *The House of Commons and Disputed Elections*, A. H. Assn. Reports (1914), I. 174-6. Contemporary statements of the case are found in Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29568, ff. 153-4; Sloane MSS. (B. M.), 3066; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 431; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 259-62.

it that parliament had practically finished its work when she arrived at a decision.

Anne's answers to the addresses showered upon her by both houses are proof of her tact in handling the difficult situation. "I should have granted the writs of error desired in this address," she finally replied to the Lords, "but finding an absolute necessity of putting an immediate end to this session, I am sensible there could have been no further proceeding upon the matter."<sup>1</sup> With the prorogation the Aylesbury men under the charge of the sergeant-at-arms were released; the peers had gained for their day a practical victory, though the legal question still remained undecided. The real advantage seems to rest with the Commons, as their control over all matters concerning elections has never since been successfully questioned. On account of the steadily growing power of the Commons the matter soon ceased to be of political importance.

This celebrated case of *Ashby vs. White* was, however, more than a quarrel between the houses, it was really a test of the relative strength of Whig and Tory, and this fact partly accounts for Anne's extremely judicious attitude. In the three contests between the two houses and the two parties as exemplified in their different positions on the questions of war—occasional conformity, the "tack," and the elections—party struggles stand out in bold relief, and indicate clearly the growing political self-consciousness of both Whig and Tory. On the other hand, these controversies display the serious attempts of the queen to stand above and between parties, a policy so difficult that it soon brought her into direct opposition to that faction, the religious inclinations of which resembled her own. Yet, despite her extreme piety, she could, and did forget her devotion to the church, the

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 436.

moment she felt that her prerogative was attacked, or her individual rights assailed.

Not only had the Highfliers dared to attack her prerogative and her affection for the church, but by their activity they stirred deeply her personal feelings. At her request, a bill was introduced into parliament by the impetuous, and grateful "Jack" Howe, granting a pension of £100,000 to the prince in case he outlived the queen.<sup>1</sup> While this bill was passing through the Commons, an amendment was added which excepted the prince from the operation of a law prohibiting all foreigners, even though naturalized, from holding office under the crown. The ostensible reason for this amendment was the fear that future sovereigns might interpret the afore-said act to the detriment of the prince. The Lords, however, looked upon it as a "tack" to a money bill and it was only after the most determined pressure on Anne's part, combined with dextrous management by the ministry under the leadership of Godolphin and Harley, that the bill finally passed the Lords by a majority of four.<sup>2</sup> The queen was greatly displeased at the disrespect shown her husband and never forgave three<sup>3</sup> of the seven Lords who protested.

Anne's resentment against the Whig lords could wait, however, as they were out of office; but not so with the Tories still in her councils. The first member of the ministry to feel the force of her wrath was her uncle, Rochester—the real leader of the Tories. Presuming

<sup>1</sup> Boyer, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *L. J.*, Jan. 1, 1703; *Rijks Archief*, 26A, Jan. 23, 1703; *Luttrell*, V. 259; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 57; *Coxe*, I. 104; *Marlb. MSS.*, 53. In the committee of the whole in the Commons, a considerable number wished to reduce the allowance to £50,000.

<sup>3</sup> Somers, Wharton, and Sunderland. Anne's wrath was momentarily directed against Burnet, also, because he protested. *Clarke and Foxcroft, Burnet*, p. 400. *Cf. Coxe Papers*, XLI. 13.

upon his kinship and the queen's approval of his High Church beliefs, he fully expected to be at her right hand in the government, and the astute Dutch representative at London feared lest he be appointed lord treasurer.<sup>1</sup> In truth, Rochester felt certain of being chosen as head of the ministry, and was greatly disappointed when Godolphin was selected instead. His pique was measurably increased when his favorite daughter, Lady Dalkeith, was passed over in favor of Marlborough's daughters in choosing ladies of the bedchamber,<sup>2</sup> and his temper once more gained the better of him. Yet Anne had been kind to him; and for a time he was deep in her confidence. Not content with these marks of favor, he objected to her moderate policy in changing the ministry, in which attitude he was supported by the High Church adherents. Hypocritical as ever, he sought to ingratiate himself with his niece while absenting himself from his post of duty and intriguing against other members of the ministry.<sup>3</sup>

Rochester's inclinations alarmed both Marlborough and Godolphin, who wished to work in harmony with him. After some difficulty, they prevailed upon the queen to order him to leave for Ireland, that they might get him out of the way.<sup>4</sup> When Anne's message reached Rochester, he hesitated for several days, then angrily waited upon her and asked to be excused from office. Greatly to his surprise, she calmly accepted his resignation, and,

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, I. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 131-5. Cf. *Other Side*, pp. 167-9.

<sup>3</sup> L'Hermitage to Heinsius, 21 April, 1702, Rijks Archief, 26A. Spanheim's dispatches to Berlin show the same thing. Von Noorden, I. 201. In October, 1703, Rochester presented Anne with a copy of his father's *History of the Rebellion*, which was dedicated to her as a granddaughter of the author. Luttrell, V. 351.

<sup>4</sup> T. Salmon, *Mod. Hist.*, I. 23; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), p. 251; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 39.

to his consternation, quietly made known her desire to see him no more at her cabinet council, saying that it was not reasonable he "should come to the council only when he pleased."<sup>1</sup> Her general demeanor made him furious, and henceforth he was to be found in the ranks of her Majesty's opposition. Anne had not only dismissed, but disgraced him; partly because of the opposition of Marlborough and Godolphin and partly on account of his stand relative to the pension she recommended for Marlborough;<sup>2</sup> but more particularly, it would seem, as a result of his presumptuous and insolent attitude towards herself, personally.

Rochester's expulsion was only the beginning of the schism in the Tory party and the queen's first move against her high Tory ministers. Nottingham had been intimate in his relations with Rochester, and he, together with Seymour, Buckingham, Hedges, and Jersey, kept up their opposition to Marlborough and insisted upon displacing Whig officials by zealous Tories. In 1703, Nottingham opposed sending aid to the distressed Cevennois, who, on account of their heresy, were being so bitterly persecuted by Louis XIV.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, he gave trouble over negotiations with Portugal, maintaining that it was dishonorable for England to strike her enemies in another king's ports. He had also been one of the foremost champions of the Occasional Conformity Bill; and an inveterate enemy of the Dissenters. In general, he was exceedingly annoying to the ministry on account of his obstructive tactics;<sup>4</sup> although, despite this factious opposition to court measures, Anne had been favorably

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 141; P. C. Reg., LXXIX. 304; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7075, f. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament's refusal to reward Marlborough as she wished was a sensitive point with the Queen. See *Other Side*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>3</sup> Wyon, I. 208; Lecky, I. 34; H. Belloc, *Lingard's Hist.*, XI. 82-3.

<sup>4</sup> Timberland, II. 35-72, *passim*.

disposed towards him. Before she had been queen two months, she appointed him secretary of state, in which position he was equally active and inefficient.<sup>1</sup> In February, 1703, he had the honor of bearing her message to the Lords, requesting them to dispatch their business speedily that she might end the session. A year later, at her command, he laid before the peers several depositions relating to the Scottish plot. In April, 1704, it was rumored that the dismal earl was to receive the Garter.<sup>2</sup>

Like Rochester, however, Nottingham became too imperious in his treatment of the queen, who was becoming alarmed lest the High Church Tories might carry things too far. He waited upon the lord treasurer and insisted upon the removal of the remaining Whigs from high offices. He received no satisfaction from Godolphin, so wisely waiting until Marlborough had sailed for Holland, he called upon Anne in person, and threatened to resign if she did not dismiss Somerset and Devonshire from the Privy Council, or at least neglect in the future to summon them. He probably had news of intended ministerial changes which would greatly weaken his position, else he would not have been so overbearing. Although Anne liked him personally, she never gave in to a threat, and she advised him to think the matter over.<sup>3</sup> This he agreed to do, but when he learned that his comrades, Jersey and Seymour, were certain to be dismissed, he resigned. The appointment of his successor occasioned some difficulty, as a month elapsed before Harley was selected in his place. This promotion is one of the significant political events of the reign, as the introduc-

<sup>1</sup> Like his successor, Nottingham was a politician rather than a diplomat. Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588-9, *passim*. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 63; Defoe, *Conduct of Parties*, p. 8; Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34513, f. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, V. 271, 371-2, 385, 410.

<sup>3</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 35; Burnet, V. 139; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 86.



tion of Harley and two of his colleagues, St. John and Mansell, into the ministry, meant the end for a while of all factious opposition to the queen in that body, which still remained moderately Tory.

Anne's patience with the Highfliers was entirely exhausted. Their opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bill, the "tack," and the Aylesbury case made their presence in the ministry unbearable. For nearly three years she had struggled to carry on her government with the consent of the high Tories. Consistent with her own prerogative, she had done everything to conciliate them, but in vain. She had hoped to reign and govern by means of a composite ministry, made up mainly of Tories, but this was found impracticable, since the Highfliers refused to work in harmony with either Whigs or moderate Tories. When the usual arguments proved powerless to shake the queen's determination, they resorted to threats and intimidation. Thus challenged, Anne had no choice but to pick up the gauntlet; their leaders were dismissed one by one, and as soon as possible she caused writs to be issued for a new election.

In these years Anne had faced a series of violent party struggles over war, religion, and jurisdiction between the two houses. In each contest, she had conducted affairs with moderation, tact, and political sagacity, constantly appealing to the public, whose sympathy she had gained early in the reign. Despite the immoderate rivalry between Lords and Commons, the intense bitterness between Whig and Tory, and the hatred between Dissenter and Anglican, she contrived to prevent any open break, and ruled with the aid of the moderates of both factions. Supported by Marlborough as general, Godolphin as first minister, and Harley as speaker, she succeeded in gaining large grants of money for carrying on the war, which under the Duke of Marlborough's able

leadership redounded greatly to the honor of the kingdom and increased her prestige abroad as well as at home. Dearer to the queen's heart than the war, was the union with Scotland, which had now reached a critical stage, but with all chances apparently in favor of its consummation.

Thus, at the end of her first parliament, Anne had triumphed over the political factions which had threatened to deprive her of ministers who would do her bidding. The security of the Protestant succession seemed assured, while at the same time her general had won the glorious victory at Blenheim and Gibraltar had been captured, so that her kingdom once more ranked with the leading states of Europe.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ELECTION OF 1705

THE queen had become weary of the jealousy between the two houses, and the rivalry of the Whigs and Tories. Thus in proroguing parliament in April, 1704, she begged in vain that they might forget their quarrels, "as the most effectual means imaginable to disappoint the ambitions of our enemies and reduce them to an honourable and lasting peace."<sup>1</sup> The factiousness of the Highfliers continued unabated and she was forced to dismiss some of them from the ministry to lessen the strife in the ensuing session of parliament. Of their gradual loss of public support the Tory zealots were as oblivious as of the increase in the queen's popularity through the success of her armies and navy.

Although she had been received with great acclaim at her accession,<sup>2</sup> Anne's popularity had slowly declined on account of the Jacobite intrigues and the heavy war taxes. In the autumn of 1704, the English were rejoicing at the victory of the great duke at Blenheim—the first decisive battle the English had won against their old hereditary enemy since Agincourt, as well as the first great military advantage over Louis XIV. English patriotism now burst forth anew, and many must have contrasted Anne's vigorous foreign policy with the subservience which her father and uncle had shown towards France. Aware of her growing power, she expressed her

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 336.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, II. 62-4; III. 34-5.

appreciation of the popular manifestations in her favor, by a speech opening parliament in October. Assuring her subjects that her greatest desire was to promote their welfare, she asked the houses to be even more liberal than before in voting military supplies, at the same time maintaining that she was willing to make personal sacrifices "for the best advantage of the public service." She was still desirous of healing the wounds made by the disputes of the houses and the change of ministry, and appealed again to their patriotism, entreating them to stifle this last hope of Louis XIV. "My inclinations are to be kind and indulgent to you all," she said, "I hope . . . that there will be no contention but who shall most promote the public welfare. Such a temper cannot fail of securing your reputation both at home and abroad."<sup>1</sup>

Such excellent advice was wasted; the Highfliers persisted in supporting the Occasional Conformity Bill, the defeat of which at the same time increased Anne's resentment and feeling of personal power. When Scottish affairs were under discussion, she attended the debates in the Lords in the hope that her presence might strengthen the ministerial policy concerning Scotland. We have seen that when the Aylesbury case threatened to disrupt parliament, she had quietly prorogued it, but not without thanks for its liberal war grants, which she hoped might soon bring a peace both favorable and lasting. "I conclude, therefore, with exhorting you all to peace and union," she repeated, "which are always commendable, but more particularly necessary at this time, when, the whole kingdom being shortly to proceed to new elections, it ought to be the chief care of everybody, especially of such as are in public stations, to carry themselves with the greatest prudence and moderation."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 355-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 437.

During the summer of 1705, the queen found it necessary to fill some vacant dioceses, to which she appointed moderate men, hoping that these bishops might help check the zeal of the Highfliers both in parliament and in the ensuing elections. For similar reasons, she deemed it advisable to remove Buckingham and appoint the Duke of Newcastle in his stead. She further gave places to the moderates by admitting the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Kent, the new lord chamberlain, and the Earl of Cholmondeley to the Privy Council. Others of her supporters were also rewarded by appointments in the military service or promotions to the peerage.<sup>1</sup> As a result, she had secured, by the close of March, 1705, a ministry personally acceptable to her. Godolphin rested secure in her confidence, and, aided by the new ministers, attempted to administer the government in accordance with her wishes. This he could not hope to do with the Tories controlling the Commons. According to law, the next election must occur before the close of the year, so the ministry now sought to choose a new House of Commons which would favor the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Tory strength in parliament had been shown in the contests between the two houses, in which they lost something of public favor, but the "tack" was a fatal Tory blunder.<sup>2</sup> However, even with the growing Tory unpopularity, the power and influence of church was so great that the Whigs could not expect to defeat their opponents, except by skilful management. Naturally, the Tories could count on the clergy for some effective work, and the Whigs could balance their ascendancy and their harangues only by an active canvass, supplemented by a liberal use of money. Of the necessity of such large

<sup>1</sup> *Annals* (1705), p. 7; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 439; Cokayne, *Peerage*, IV. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Calamy*, II. 34.

expenditures, the Whig leaders were well aware, as they found their rivals already active. Consequently, they made early preparations for the contest.<sup>1</sup>

Few elections in the early eighteenth century were so bitterly contested as was this.<sup>2</sup> The Tories felt themselves slipping, through the loss of the queen's favor, and went to their pollings determined to retrieve what they had lost through her hostility, by gaining a still larger majority in the Commons. On the other hand, the Whigs had tasted the sweets of political power and were determined to increase their influence. "Feuds were scarce ever higher, nor greater interest made," wrote Roger Coke, "all the distinctions of parties were not confined to High and Low Church only, but tackers, sneekers and what not were continually trumped up."<sup>3</sup> "The elections were disputed with equal industry, and more than ordinary heat and animosity by the *High and Low Church Party*."<sup>4</sup>

To regain their influence, the Tories depended as formerly upon family influence, active electioneering, and the support of the lesser clergy. Even their opponents, apparently, do not accuse them of bribery or corruption. However, they did make the most of family ties and

<sup>1</sup> Godolphin-Osborne Papers, Add. MSS., 28041, f. 5; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, f. 411. In September, 1703, Bromley began preparations for this election. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 67. Early in 1705, Sir Thomas Coke wrote a campaign letter in behalf of two candidates for the borough of Derby. A month later, he learned that the Whig candidate had the advantage of being already on the ground. *Coke MSS.*, III. 54-5. Another of Harley's friends was laying his plans a year before the dissolution. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 84, 125. See also *Fortescue MSS.* (H. M. C.), II. 8-13; *Kenyon MSS.* (H. M. C.), 434; Preface to Defoe's *Review*, II.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. For., German States, CLXI. 539; Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXV. 94, CCXLIV. 59; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 179-86; Boyer, 178; *Coke MSS.*, III. 58-61; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. xxii; Defoe, *Review*, II, preface. Cf. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Coke, III. 208; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlen, p. 188; Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCXLIV. 58-9; Boyer, p. 178.

raised an incessant cry that the church was in danger<sup>1</sup> from the non-conformists, whose strength had been shown in the defeat of the Occasional Conformity Bill. In this fight against the Dissenters, they enlisted the support not only of the zealous vicars and curates, but likewise of the Jacobites, and even of the papists. From one end of England to the other, went forth the appeal to stand by the church against the forces of atheism and republicanism; to save the queen from the hands of the ungodly Whigs, who were drawing closer and closer to her and would soon enslave her.<sup>2</sup> These arguments were not without effect, although they failed entirely in the larger towns, where devotion to the church did not run so high.<sup>3</sup> The most efficient Tory canvassers were the country clergy, whose influence over their poorer parishioners still remained greater than that of the Whig politicians, although their methods were not always above reproach.<sup>4</sup>

The dispute over religious matters gave the Tories and Whigs alike an added opportunity to make use of the press in this election. Pamphlets of all kinds were turned out at a rapid rate, and "the lampoons fly as thick as hail in order to influence the approaching elections."<sup>5</sup> The topic most favored by each party was the Occasional Conformity Bill and the "tack," and some of the tracts are not only ingenuous but entertaining. Among these the

<sup>1</sup> *Kenyon MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 434; *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 188-9; *Fortescue MSS.* (H. M. C.), I. 16-7; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 125; *Coke MSS.*, III. 54-70; *Ellis Papers*, Add. MSS., 28893, f. 137; Add. MSS., 28892, f. 411; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 440; *Remusat*, I. 159; *Oldmixon*, IV. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Chamberlen*, p. 188; *Sharp*, I. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Papists, non-jurors, and Jacobites were the main support of the "tackers." Defoe's *Review*, II. No. 33. See also Oldfield, *Parl. Hist.*, I. 377.

<sup>4</sup> *Hearne*, I. 22-3; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 214; Defoe, *Review*, II. Nos. 36-7.

<sup>5</sup> Add. MSS., 4743, f. 31. One of the most noted tracts was *A Memorial of the Church of England*, by James Drake. See Lecky, I. 61.

best were the work of Hoadly, Defoe, Leslie, Tutchin, and Toland. Defoe, however, was more than a pamphleteer; already he had begun his *Review*, which was extensively read, and exerted a great influence on the elections in favor of the ministry, with which Defoe had become in secret actively allied.<sup>1</sup> John Dyer's *News Letter* was also widely circulated at the time. The Tories made some use of the *Paris Gazette*,<sup>2</sup> but the advantage lay clearly with the ministry in its use of the *London Gazette*, *The Postman*, and Defoe's *Review*.

The great weapon in the Whig arsenal was the unfriendly attitude of the Tories towards the queen, as shown in the "tack" and the bill on occasional conformity, thus making capital of the well-known loyalty of the people for their sovereign, while at the same time insisting upon the rights of the Commons over taxation. Despite some Tory pamphlets, their arguments were favorably received by the voters.<sup>3</sup> The Whig nobles were also exceptionally active throughout the canvass. Somerset and Wharton interested themselves especially in the pollings, and the peers in general did "more in electing this Parliament than ever,"<sup>4</sup> a resolution of the House of Commons to the contrary notwithstanding.

<sup>1</sup> See the account of his 1100-mile electioneering tour in *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 269-72. Strangely enough, Defoe was offended at the practice of printing the names of parliamentary candidates on small sheets and handing them about. *Review*, II. No. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28893, f. 137; Burnet, V. 218; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 440.

<sup>3</sup> Chamberlen, p. 188; *A Memorial of the Church of England* acted as a boomerang to the Tories, for it proved that in their exasperation, they did not spare even the queen, much less her favorite ministers. See Tindal, IV. 184, and *Life of Calamy*, II. 35. Toland answered it in a *Memorial of the State of England*.

<sup>4</sup> From Dyer's *News Letter* in *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 190. At Lewes the sheriff threatened to "adjourn the Court," if Somerset and his companions did not leave. They left and the poll continued. *Ib.*, 185; Egerton MSS.



Many noblemen chose to interfere by less direct methods, and placed their money where it would do the greatest good, thus causing the Tories to complain of the large sums used by the Whigs to corrupt voters. That revered old Tory, John Evelyn, in one of the last entries in his diary, wrote of the "most extravagant expense to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliamentary members," adding significantly: "I sent my grandson with his party to my freeholders to vote for Mr. Harvey,"<sup>1</sup> showing that he still retained a hearty interest in elections. Election petitions explicitly charge bribery in at least fifteen constituencies, involving more than a score of seats.<sup>2</sup> Some excellent examples of petty bribery are found in the Bedwin election. At first the electorate demanded £6 apiece for their votes, but eventually compromised on £5, if certain that their debts, varying from 1s. 4d. to £3 11s., were paid for them. Some received the £5 directly, but in several cases the same sum was given to their wives ostensibly for spinning wool at 20s. per pound.<sup>3</sup> Petty bribery at the pollings at Huntington was

(B. M.), 929, f. 72; Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 417; Hearne, I. 117; C. J., XV. 15.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, III. 407. Harvey was a staunch Tory and Evelyn was very angry because of his defeat. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 199.

<sup>2</sup> C. J., XV. 8-18, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Aylesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 191. Each man on the receipt of the £5 gave his bond, which was to be returned to him a fortnight after the election if he had voted as he promised. After the Whig candidates had bribed the electorate, sixteen of them decided to desert to the Tories, but they were kept prisoners, plied with wine, and taken to the polls before their guards were removed. Pollexfen, a London merchant, seems to have been the leading Whig candidate, and had the voters well in hand. He secured Charles Withers, later returned for Whitechurch, to stand for the borough along with himself, but when he would not pay more than £4 as a bribe to each of the voters, Pollexfen gave him up as hopeless, and got Admiral Sir George Byng to stand. Sir George was more liberal and willingly contributed £5 to £10 to each voter. Apparently, the voters invited rich merchants to stand for the borough. *Ib.*, pp. 193-4.

so extensive that one of the election managers was taken in custody by the House of Commons.<sup>1</sup> At Lestwithiel, the bailiff, a publican, was offered "50 Guineas and a Bell," while £5 was the usual price for the doubtful members of the electorate of twenty-four. At Oakhampton, the petitioner boasted that he would spend £2,000 to win the poll.<sup>2</sup> At Marlborough, bribery was in the main less direct, although Somerset's agent was "about paying 30*li.* debts for Solomon Clarke, and offers as much to Flurry Bowshire." The Mayor of the town not only demanded an enormous amount of food and drink for his annual feast, but together with one "Tom Smith" forced the candidates to buy his products at extortionate prices.<sup>3</sup> Wharton, the Whig leader, is said to have spent £12,000 upon his elections.<sup>4</sup> "Mr. Diston spares no pains or costs," wrote one man, "I am sure if you give £500 for a common councilman Diston will out-bribe you on all occasions."<sup>5</sup> Robert Pitt paid £100 to secure one vote of the ten at notorious Old Sarum for his candidate, who even then nearly lost his seat through a double return.<sup>6</sup> Defoe complained that in spite of the acts recently passed to prevent bribery and corruption at elections, "never was treating, bribing, buying of voices, freedoms and freeholds, and all the corrupt practices in the world, so open and barefaced."<sup>7</sup>

The making of "faggot voters" was another efficient

<sup>1</sup> The bribes varied from a guinea to £15. *C. J.*, XV. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 92-4, 72-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 195-6. Bribery was almost open in the election at Newcastle-under-Lyme. *C. J.*, XV. 178.

<sup>4</sup> *D. N. B.*, art. on "Wharton." See also Hearne, I. 117; *C. J.*, XV. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 176. Diston had probably spent £300 in lawsuits and bribes since the last election.

<sup>6</sup> *Fortescue MSS.* (H. M. C.), I. 17; see also *C. J.*, XV. 60-1.

<sup>7</sup> Defoe's *Review*, II. No. 32. The law in question was 2 & 3 Anne, c. 13. Many of the petitions in controverted elections complain of "threats, promises, bribes, treats," or "treating, bribery, menaces." *C. J.*, XV. 10.

method of gaining elections, as large landholders might by splitting freeholds control a considerable number of votes. Complaints from the Tories against this way of winning elections are frequent, and Tory defeats in Hertfordshire, Cheshire, Essex, and Colchester were laid to this trick. In the first two pollings, all four unsuccessful Tory candidates polled a larger number of votes than the victorious ones in 1702.<sup>1</sup> The Whig victory at Richmond was gained, according to the petitioner, partly "by splitting of votes, and houses, and lands, to multiply votes," and at Lestwithiel "deeds passed a freehold to 26 persons."<sup>2</sup> Other sources also afford us instances of this practice, which seems to grow more prevalent in early eighteenth-century elections.

So extensive an employment of money in this election reminds one somewhat of the election of 1698, when the two East India companies competed against each other for the favor of the electorate. As in that canvass, so in this, the commercial element put forth a great deal of effort. Many wealthy merchants were themselves candidates for seats, and in Wiltshire "17 strangers are like to be chosen, not one of them having a foot of ground in that county,"<sup>3</sup> while the same complaints were made about the pollings at Norwich, Bedwin, Marlborough, and other places.\*

Whatever the influence of religion; however effective the money of the Whigs and the violence of the rabble, the most frequent complaint was against the chicanery of

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 188; *The Republican Bullies*, p. 5; *C. J.*, XV. 135. In Essex, 405 freeholders were made. *Coke MSS.*, III. 61. Robert Pitt made one faggot voter at Old Sarum. *Fortescue MSS.*, I. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 15, 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 56; Atterbury, *Advice to the Freeholders of England*; C. Davenant, *Balance of Power*; Bolingbroke, *Letter to Windham*; Oldfield, *Parl. Hist.*, I. 377.

the returning officer, as more than a score of the petitions claimed unfair returns or the polling of illegal votes. These complaints bring to light the manifold qualifications among the borough electorates, which were only slightly removed from immemorial custom by the Last Determinations Act of 1696. The situation at Leicester was exceedingly sordid: six men seem to have voted twice; twenty-eight were either not on the poll books or their landlord paid their parish dues; twenty either lived in hospitals, or had their rent paid or received weekly collections; eleven were not found in the books, and no one in the borough knew of them; sixty-four were eventually disqualified by the committee on elections because they had been made free at the expense of the candidates; and fifty-four "faggot" voters were made freemen at the expense of the sitting members.<sup>1</sup> The question of who should be permitted to vote was also raised with some justice at St. Albans, Norwich, Agmondisham, and Hertford.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the part played by religious animosity, bribery, and election tricks, the Dissenters were without doubt the most important single factor in the election, as they had become alarmed at the progress of the Occasional Conformity Bill, and its narrow escape from passage. With them were joined the Low Churchmen who favored a liberal ecclesiastical policy. Evelyn realized that this combination was invincible, and such bribery as the Tories might have attempted would have borne little fruit with this group.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 135. The Carte MSS. (CXXV. 94) contain additional information about the wholesale treating of the electors in this election.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 37-56, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, III. 408; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, f. 276. See also Defoe's reports in *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 153, 175; Hearne, I. 49. In his *Review*, Defoe never lost an opportunity to attack the "tackers" as unpatriotic, and urged the voters to defeat them. See volume II, Nos. 25-33.

The Quakers, too, played a more important part in this election than in any since 1701, when Spencer Cowper's trial aroused such great interest. Their great leader, William Penn, had gained very considerable influence in political affairs, after convincing the ministry that there were "40,000 Quaking Freeholders in England."<sup>1</sup> Harley was Penn's close friend, and, by their united efforts, the Quakers joined the rest of the non-conformists, and their close co-operation brought victory to the Whigs in several places. Dyer's *News Letter* recounts that at "Brentford several hundred of them polled against Smithson and Lake as they have done against the Church's interest all England over."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of frequent gains by Dissenters and Low Churchmen, the Highfliers labored valiantly and succeeded in many places, such as Oxford and Cambridge Universities, in returning "tackers," while one member for Warwickshire was a "tacker";<sup>3</sup> but this was so infrequent as to be the cause of considerable comment by those who kept track of election results.

A difficult point to determine with regard to the elections of this reign is the part played by the court, and yet it is extremely important to know to what extent parlia-

Lady Marlborough also made war on the Highfliers in her electioneering. *C. J.*, XV. 38. See also *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 190.

<sup>1</sup> Hearne, I. 68. The importance of Penn and the Quakers is to some extent indicated by the fact that some weeks after the election, Penn married a Quaker "heiress of £30,000 fortune" to a watchmaker's son in the presence of "three Dukes, among them the Duke of Ormond, eight Lords, seven foreign envoys, and abundance of other gentry." *Ib.*, I. 212. Another William Penn was a candidate at Bramber, but after petitioning against "bribery, treating," etc., withdrew his petition. *C. J.*, XV. 13, 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 188, 190. They were particularly active in Buckinghamshire and Essex.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28893, f. 114; Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCXLIV, 58; Burnet, V. 223; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 188-90. In all at least 70 "tackers" were chosen. Cf. Defoe's *Review*, II. No. 31.

ment was packed. Cooke believed that the court remained neutral in 1705, but exactly what he meant is not clear from the context. If he referred to Anne's personal activity, he was probably correct in his surmise, although he failed to notice that she had made known her feelings against the "tackers" and her agents were at no loss how to proceed. He probably relied upon Burnet, who wrongly stated that "the Court acted with such caution and coldness that the Whigs had very little strength given them by the ministers in managing elections; they seemed rather to look on indifferent spectators."<sup>1</sup> The bishop flatly contradicts himself, because he also noted that the queen "spoke to me with relation to the elections. She said we saw she trusted to us; and in particular she spoke severely of Mr. Fox,"<sup>2</sup> candidate for Salisbury. This hint set Burnet energetically to work against Fox, but without success. Similar suggestions also impelled the Duchess of Marlborough to oppose the "tackers" at St. Albans.<sup>3</sup>

In some instances the part played by the court was more direct. At Oxford the ministry had the poll put off a week, "in which time Godolphin got twenty votes," wrote Thomas Carte. "He sent on purpose to the Isle of Wight for one vote, and as far as Wales and Cumberland for others. Windsor went to Lincoln for one vote and I rode one hundred miles in two days. The Queen sent her own, and my Lord Keeper his chaplain to vote against him [Windsor] as did all the London clergy also,"<sup>4</sup> but in vain. Since the queen took an active in-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 223; Tindal, IV. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 417. Fox was Paymaster of the Forces in Ireland, and was said to be the fiancé of Rochester's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 38. See *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. xxii; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCXLIV. 58; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28893, f. 114.

terest in the canvass, the rest of the court might be expected to follow her example. "It is well known which side the court took," wrote Roger Coke, "which he may be morally sure will never encourage tacking of bills nor those who adhere to such designs."<sup>1</sup> Besides, Bishop Trelawny practically acknowledged that Godolphin and he were "to model the elections in our county for the next (to make it a court) Parliament."<sup>2</sup> Other important political leaders had no doubt of the activity of the ministers. Before the elections began, Somers accurately foretold the action of the court.<sup>3</sup> Godolphin took a great interest in the election of his son, Francis, and Harley wrote to Sir Humphrey Gower, asking him to use his influence in favor of young Godolphin.<sup>4</sup> The lord treasurer was also much concerned about the Woodstock election. "This battle," he wrote to Harley, "vexed me very much. What good will it do to have Lord Marlborough beat the French abroad if the French at home must beat him."<sup>5</sup>

Not only Godolphin then, but Harley, as well, attempted to influence the elections. One candidate wrote to the speaker of his invitation to stand for Hereford "and doubted not to carry it if honored with Harley's support"; another courtier promised the speaker to support the ministerial candidates at Cheshire, with the implied understanding that he was to be rewarded by Godolphin.<sup>6</sup> All three candidates were successful. Prob-

<sup>1</sup> Coke, III. 208. For other evidence of Anne's activity, see Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 419; *C. J.*, XV. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 102. See also Oldfield, *Parl. Hist.*, I. 376; Coxe, I. 346.

<sup>3</sup> *Shrewsb. Cor.*, p. 647. He believed Anne would throw her influence against the Tories. See also Remusat, I. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 179. Defoe complained because Godolphin would not urge the bishop to set up his son, who could have beaten Seymour at Exeter. *Ib.*, IV. 214.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 170, 173; *Coke MSS.*, III. 61-2.

ably the most typical letter to Harley at this time is that of Sir Rowland Gwynne, the perennial office seeker, who promised everything and accepted anything rather than be out of office.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that Harley took up Gwynne's candidacy, as the latter was not elected for Brecon, for which he stood, where Harley's recommendation would have been equivalent to an election. The fact that Gwynne applied to the ministry at all, would show that he thought that the court was interfering in elections.<sup>2</sup> Harley's firmest friend, St. John, was also active. Harley had assumed that he was busy with his own elections. "I did all I was able to serve the Lord Duke in that of Woodstock; my own gave me no trouble," St. John reported. "Harcourt's election I could not influence, and there is so much merit in being against the 'tack,' whatever some wise men may think, that Nevil was not to be opposed."<sup>3</sup>

The ministry thus appears to have been very active in the election, and Harley seems to have been particularly energetic. Some Tories bitterly denounced this court influence. "We have here, the most alarming proof imaginable of the influence of ministers over elections," said one Tory writer. "When they would have Tories returned, we returned Tories; when they would have Whigs returned, we returned Whigs; so that in fact, the court is rather represented than the people. What wonder then,

<sup>1</sup> "I have offered my services to the county of Brecon. If I am not chosen there perhaps I may be elsewhere, and if I am I will heartily join with my Lord Duke, my Lord Treasurer, and you, in whatever measures you take to serve her Majesty to the utmost of my power. But if I am not chosen, I should be much obliged to you and them, if you will obtain for me some employment abroad wherein I may serve her Majesty and live with reputation." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 181. See also *ib.*, IV. 175-273, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> It is highly improbable that Harley helped Gwynne, as he was looked upon as Rochester's representative and Seymour's successor in his "Western Empire." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 180, 269.



that supplies are always granted, and that grievances are never redressed.”<sup>1</sup> The court, indeed, had all the advantage in carrying on the elections, as they had in their gift the patronage of the crown, as well as a more plentiful supply of ready money than the Tories.

More visible influences were at work in the form of rioting. The violence employed on both sides seemed “scandalous,” even to the sophisticated Defoe, who was horrified at the “infinite briberies, forgeries, perjuries, and all manner of debaucheries” of the principles of elections, while he stood aghast at “all sorts of violences, tumults, riots, and breaches of the peace” and threatened to publish the “black history of the election to C[oven]try,”<sup>2</sup> which was probably the most violent in 1705. A state of civil war existed and civil authority was temporarily in abeyance. At times parties of several hundred fought furiously in the streets; many were “horsed,” and when any wished to poll for Bridgman or Hopkins their opponents “were ready to eat them.” All freemen had the right to vote, but this reign of terror kept the timid from the polls. Besides, there was no list of freemen, no one was sworn at the polls, no books were kept, and a scrutiny was impossible. After the election, about one hundred and fifty “persons of the Whig party were indicted and tried . . . for a riot . . . at the elections.”<sup>3</sup> The case had been brought before the bar of the Commons, which declared that there had been a “notorious riot and tumult . . . and other illegal practices in contempt of the civil authority, and in violation of the freedom of elections.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Other Side*, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Review*, II, preface. See also Minto, *Life of Defoe*, pp. 63-4.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, I. 28; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 188, 320; Defoe, *Review*, II. Nos. 29, 34, 40; *C. J.*, XV. 22, 276-8.

<sup>4</sup> Luttrell, VI. 135. It is interesting to compare Professor Silliman's

The Chester riots show that conditions at Coventry were not so exceptional. "The cry of the whiggish rabble at the election for the county of Chester . . . was 'down with the Church and the Bishops'; and when sixty of the clergy headed by the Dean came to poll they said Hell was broke loose, and they were the Devil's black-guard; they abused the Bishop, though on account of his peaceful temper he did not intermeddle in the election and to complete their outrage broke the windows of the cathedral and another church."<sup>1</sup> To gain time, the Whigs compelled the clergy to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy separately and many of them went away without voting. Freemen were created especially for this election, as all the candidates received votes far in excess of those in 1702.<sup>2</sup>

The Leicester polling was a strenuous affair if we are to believe one complainant. "The petitioner brought several people in a tumultuous manner with sledge-hammers, bars of iron and other instruments, and broke down the partition built in court to keep the rabble from annoying the magistrates and officers that took the poll and when the justices then met commanded them in the Queen's name to keep the peace, he ordered them nevertheless to go on; which obstructed the poll and occasioned great disorders and delays, and brought on the poll to nights when by the constable and others, . . . the greatest violence imaginable were committed against Mr. Winstanley's voters."<sup>3</sup> On polling day Salisbury was a pandemonium. "The Bishop [Burnet] and his steward were hustled by the clergy and the mob; his friends were

account of an election in Coventry just a century later, 1805, when similar rioting took place. Silliman's *Journal*, I. 114-8.

<sup>1</sup> Dyer's *News Letter*, 29 May, 1705, printed in *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *The Republican Bullies*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXV. 94.

maltreated; the Dukes of Bolton and Somerset received 'strange insults.'"<sup>1</sup> At Calne, "a great tumult" occurred, "to the hindrance of such as would have voted for the petitioners."<sup>2</sup>

What with violence, bribery, treating, or appealing to the voters to stand against the "tackers," the court was able to bring about a working majority in the Commons.<sup>3</sup> To some extent this was due to the real success of Marlborough, and the doubtful victory of Rooke, because it proved that the masses would not refuse to support a war which brought victory over Louis XIV. They could not forget the glories of Blenheim if they would, and could scarcely refrain from attributing disloyalty to those Tories who did not openly favor the continuation of a war to humble France. On the other hand, the Whigs were supported by the financial and commercial interests, not alone because of their religious toleration, but because they championed the war.

The significance of this election lies in the great activity of Anne and the ministry, the increased employment of open corruption and violence, and the influence of religious and economic as well as political questions in bringing about an overturn of the presumptuous High-fliers, who had dared to reflect even upon the queen herself. In one sense, it was a victory for the war party; in another, it was for Anne a personal triumph, although the increasing strength of the Whigs in Parliament augured ill for her peace of mind in the future.

The first duty of a newly elected house is to choose a speaker. Though usually an easy task, on this occasion

<sup>1</sup> Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 417. See also A. A. Locke, *Seymour Family*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Chamberlen, p. 188; *Life of Calamy*, II. 34; *Annals* (1705), pp. 14-18.

it involved one of the bitterest contests for the speakership of which we have any account. Harley had served three parliaments in that capacity and had made an enviable record. Even after his appointment as secretary of state, some thought it perfectly good form for him to hold both offices, so he might have secured a re-election if he had chosen. With his usual good judgment, however, he thought it advisable to decline the office, inasmuch as his new duties were heavy and somewhat strange to him.<sup>1</sup>

Extraordinary efforts were made at once to get out as many men as possible at the opening of the session, for the speakership had not yet become non-partisan and the selection of speaker gave the successful party a decided advantage. The high efficiency of party organization, before party "whips" were developed,<sup>2</sup> is shown by the attendance of more than 450 of the 513 members who had been elected.<sup>3</sup> Such an attendance is perhaps the record before the union, as many men elected to parliament never attended, a considerable number had died since the end of the pollings, and others were prevented from attending by indisposition or business. An attendance of 400 was rare indeed, while 450 was very exceptional, and faintly indicates how much the choice of speaker aroused public interest.

As soon as it was ascertained that Harley would not

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 215, 248. Holding the speakership and a portfolio was not exceptional. Strangely enough, Smith held the chancellorship of the exchequer and the speakership for several months in 1708. *Ib.*, II. 193. Cf. James, III. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28052, f. 110; Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34521, ff. 63-4; *Bath MSS.*, I. 78. There was a "meeting of a great number of loyal Church Parliament men at the Fountain Tavern . . . to consider their strength for the choice of Mr. Bromley to be Speaker." Hearne, I. 58. See Kent, pp. 93-7.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, III. 408; Tindal, IV. 183; *C. J.*, XV. 5. Cf. Ranke, V. 290.

be a candidate for the presiding office of the "bear garden" (to use his own expression), the court suggested Solicitor-General Harcourt as a man who would be satisfactory to both the violent and moderate Tories, but the Highfliers would not support him.<sup>1</sup> Profiting by their non-conciliatory attitude, the ministry made a bid for Whig support by nominating John Smith, a moderate Whig, as their choice for speaker. The Tories planned to support William Bromley, a vehement Highflier and the father of the Occasional Conformity Bill. The issue was now clearly drawn, as such a choice ended all hopes of accommodation between the ministry and the Tories, for the ensuing contest was a decisive test of strength between the court and Whigs on one side and the High Church Tories on the other.<sup>2</sup> Both jockeyed for position; both anxiously awaited the first meeting of parliament. No one on either side was more active or effective in this fight than Harley, who was able to conciliate a considerable number of moderate Tories and win their votes for Smith. Moreover, the queen in person interfered by writing to Lady Bathurst to persuade her son to vote for Mr. Smith.<sup>3</sup> Each side seemed supremely confident<sup>4</sup> and talked with equal virulence, if not with equal eloquence. For an hour and a half they wrangled, their arguments

<sup>1</sup> W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Robert Walpole*, II. 6; Hearne, I. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 215; Burnet, V. 228; A. I. Dasent, *Speakers of House*, p. 240. At first the Whigs laughed at Bromley's nomination. Hearne, I. 58. *Cf. Annals* (1705), p. 180. Vernon considered it a crisis in state affairs. James, III. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Strickland, XII. 122; Coke, III. 64. Godolphin and Harley were in close co-operation. *Bath MSS.*, I. 78. In 1692, Bromley had printed a book of travels, in which he expressed violent Jacobite sympathies. Harley reprinted it now and it aided materially in defeating its author. Burnet, V. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe Papers, XVII. 197. Bromley's supporters claimed 250, but Craggs felt certain of only "200 at the most . . . , if those in the Queen's service be firm to Mr. Smith." *Add. MSS.*, 4743, f. 44. The ministry was even less confident.

getting more and more heated as the minutes progressed. "No affair of this sort had ever been carried with such heat on both sides,"<sup>1</sup> but at last, to the relief of all, the vote was taken and Smith won, 248 to 205.

The result<sup>2</sup> was a victory for the ministry and the queen, indicating also the great influence the court played in deciding close political contests. It definitely settled the fate of the "tackers," who had opposed the wishes of Anne and her ministers, while it marks the beginnings of Whig influence with the queen, an influence which was gradually to increase until their own sense of self-security brought disaster. Both in the defeat of the "tack" and in Smith's election, the Whigs saved Anne and the ministry from a bad fall, and like all politicians, they soon demanded their price. Their importunities gradually caused changes in the ministry, which grew increasingly Whiggish, as the ministerial leaders and the junto were drawn closer together.

After the queen had gone through the formality of accepting the new speaker, to whom she later presented a "purse of 1,000 guineas as a token of her satisfaction of his choice,"<sup>3</sup> she delivered her address to both houses, calling upon them to support the war vigorously, and bring about a union with Scotland. Though making the usual appeal for public support, Anne displayed real spirit when she spoke of the "tackers." "There are some amongst us, who endeavour to foment animosities," she complained, "but I persuade myself, they will be found very few, when you appear to assist me in discountenancing and defeating such practices . . . we may be certain, that they, who go about to insinuate such

<sup>1</sup> Tindal, IV. 183-4. See also Hearne, I. 59-72, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Twelfth Report* (H. M. C.), V. 183; Godolphin-Osborne Papers, Add. MSS., 28041, f. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, I. 61.

things of this nature, must be mine and the kingdom's enemies, and can only mean to cover designs, which they dare not publicly own."<sup>1</sup> Such expressions display her resentment against those who had scorned her prerogative and injured her pride. The bitterness she felt against the men who had dared intimate that the church was in danger under her rule, she skilfully turned against them by branding them as disloyal. In this way she gained popular support for the things she wished to do, since the influence of Anne's speeches upon the country must have been considerable.<sup>2</sup>

Anne's speech was but a part of the ministerial program of carrying the fight to the Tories. The selection of a speaker having shown them how slender was their majority, they began at once to increase it by deciding controverted elections. For obvious reasons, the number of disputed returns was greater than usual, and petitions involving the right to at least sixty-five seats were presented during this parliament.<sup>3</sup> The choice of a suitable chairman for the committee on elections was of superlative importance to both parties, but after a hard struggle, the ministry prevailed<sup>4</sup> by the slender majority of sixteen, and proceeded immediately to the trial of election petitions.

The St. Albans case probably aroused the greatest interest. "On Wednesday we sat up till three in the morning upon the St. Albans election," wrote Harley to Marlborough, "and this night I suppose we'll finish it about the same hour." Eventually it was decided in favor of

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 452; Coke, III. 276. Anne tactfully assumed that the large attendance was due to their great respect for her.

<sup>2</sup> Defoe's *Challenge of Peace* emphasizes the fact that the whole nation was "particularly attentive" to what she said.

<sup>3</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 8-526, *passim*. Seventeen were to be heard before Christmas. See Luttrell, V. 607-9; Defoe, *Legion's Humble Address*.

<sup>4</sup> Hearne, I. 70.

the Duchess of Marlborough's candidate.<sup>1</sup> The Hertford election also went in favor of the court by a majority of two,<sup>2</sup> although not all the double returns were decided in that way. The case of Leicester "was referred to a committee who resolved that Winstanley . . . was not duly elected, for which there was a thanksgiving in all the Conventicles in and about Leycester; but it being proposed to the whole house, a majority dissented from the said resolution . . . and declared Mr. Winstanley duly elected to the great mortification of the Presbyterians and the friends of the knavish and rebellious crew."<sup>3</sup> The Coventry election was set aside on account of manifest violence. From the Bedwin depositions it is clear that £5 was a customary bribe and a £10 proffer unusual, and that tenders of money were accepted as a matter of course by a large proportion of the borough electorate.<sup>4</sup>

When an election was declared void, or a candidate died, or a member was elected by two or more constituencies, a by-election was necessary, and their number was by no means negligible, as during the parliament fifty-six seats were vacated.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, both parties paid scrupulous attention to these by-elections. One of the most interesting of them was that at Marlborough where Lord Bruce spent a large sum to elect his candidate, but

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XVII. 213; Add. MSS., 4743, f. 49; Hearne, I. 81, 87, 99. The first reference gives the vote 198 to 126, but the *Commons Journal* (XV. 39.) gives 199 to 142. Much foul practice characterized the activities of both Whigs and Tories, but no adequate proof could be adduced against Lady Marlborough. See *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 273.

<sup>2</sup> Cowper's *Diary*, p. 18; *C. J.*, XV. 55. The vote was 199 to 197.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, I. 182. See also *C. J.*, XV. 137; Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXV. 94; Luttrell, VI. 11, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 190-5. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 199-269.

<sup>5</sup> Of these by-elections, 43 were due to deaths, 8 to candidates' choosing to serve another constituency, 3 to promotions to the peerage, 2 because the candidate had accepted a position of honor and profit from the queen. *C. J.*, XV. 26-616, *passim*.



without success, although he was able to gain for him the seat at Bedwin made vacant by Sir George Byng.<sup>1</sup> The Chippenham election was attended with so much violence as to arouse the indignation of Bishop Burnet.<sup>2</sup>

As long as the composition of the House of Commons remained undecided, it was impolitic to make further changes in the ministry, but immediately the elections were over, certain alterations were set on foot, which affected the zealous High Churchmen first of all. Rochester, Seymour, Nottingham, and Jersey had been dismissed before the elections. Even Buckingham, of whom Anne was formerly so considerate, had been put aside before the canvass was over. In spite of these changes, the ministry was not as united as its important members desired, and the Highfliers were thoroughly alarmed lest the ministry should become thoroughly Whig on account of the queen's resentment against them.<sup>3</sup> The ministerial policy, however, was to change the personnel of the cabinet council slowly in favor of moderation, and the next important official upon whom the wrath of the queen and her advisers fell was Sir Nathan Wright, the lord keeper, whose only merit for the position had been his devout High Church attitude. He was notoriously inefficient, probably corrupt, and the laughing-stock of both parties,<sup>4</sup> but his religiosity appealed to the queen, who was unwilling to dismiss on slight grounds any minister

<sup>1</sup> *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 195-6; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 445.

<sup>2</sup> H. C. Foxcroft, *Supplement to Burnet*, p. 513.

<sup>3</sup> A year earlier, Dr. Davenant, the pamphleteer, learned "that the struggle now is, not whether the Whigs have any weight and credit, but whether they have all or no." *Add. MSS.*, 4743, f. 154. Defoe said that the ministry was termed Whig by 1705. *Conduct of Parties*, p. 8. Indeed, there was some question at the time whether Anne might not attempt a dissolution to secure a Whig parliament. J. Hervey, *Letter Books*, I. 199; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 84. Cf. Oldmixon, III. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Wright became very rich while in office. Burnet, V. 225. See also the *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. xvii, 260-1; Hearne, I. 53-6.

who had come into office during her reign. The Duchess of Marlborough claimed some credit for this dismissal, but Harley's subtle suggestions, coupled with Cowper's ability, made it easier for Anne to consent to his appointment as lord keeper a fortnight before parliament met.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Whigs gained another strong, but moderate member of the ministry. A third Whig, the Earl of Kent, was already in the council, but the junto were still dissatisfied. Indeed, they wished one of their own number among the queen's advisers, and had urged upon Marlborough the claims of Sunderland at the time of Nottingham's dismissal, eighteen months before. Even though the Whigs set forth Sunderland's merits, which the duchess had voiced so often and so long, the duke realized that his son-in-law could not then fill a place in the cabinet. To Marlborough, Harley's presence in the ministry was imperative, since he alone excelled in the arts of political manipulation, by which majorities were maintained.<sup>2</sup> Another reason why Sunderland did not find a place in Anne's councils arose from her unconquerable aversion to him, so he was passed over in favor of Harley.

The junto kept urging Sunderland's cause in season and out of season. Marlborough still held out against them, as well as the duchess, but when he gave in, Anne remained immovable as ever. After many importunities, she did agree to send him on a foreign mission. Godolphin insisting upon the Whig demands, she promised him any good place that did not involve close personal rela-

<sup>1</sup> Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 27-8; *Bath MSS.*, I. 64; Macaulay, p. 2935; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 8. Cowper's appointment was one of the most important changes in the ministry.

<sup>2</sup> Wyon suggests (I. 380) that the duchess wanted Seymour's position as comptroller of the household for Sunderland; apparently he is wrong, as the plan was to make the earl leading secretary, or at least second to Harley. After Harley's appointment, it was reported that Anne had dismissed Secretary Hedges. Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 316, 386.

tions with the sovereign. The junto indignantly rejected this offer and the lord treasurer told Anne he must resign unless she yielded. Still she remained obdurate, and it took all of Marlborough's infinite patience and prestige, together with certain assurances given by Godolphin, to secure Sunderland's appointment as secretary of state.

By this time experience had proved that the moderate administration lacked cohesion, and within a few months, other religious zealots were laid aside. Of the appointive members of the Board of Trade, Weymouth resigned, and three others were removed, including Matthew Prior, John Pollexfen,<sup>1</sup> and William Blathwayt—probably its most active member. They were succeeded by the Earl of Stamford, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Robert Monckton (a friend of Harley), and John Pulteney. Lord Derby succeeded Lord Gower as chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>2</sup> Solicitor-General Harcourt was the leading lawyer among the Tories, but withal a moderate. Anne was willing that he should become speaker, but that project having failed, he was promoted to attorney-general, displacing Sir Edward Northey. Sir James Montagu, a brother of Halifax, became solicitor-general, and Spencer Compton succeeded Edward Nicholas as "Treasurer and Receiver-General to Prince George of Denmark, and Paymaster to her Majesty's pensioners." Numerous promotions were made in the army, and also in the church. Cowper's merit soon brought him the office of lord chancellor; Abingdon gave way to George Churchill as lord lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir George Rooke was dismissed from the Privy Council.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Annals* (1707), p. 288; *Angliæ Notitia* (1704), p. 636; Luttrell, VI. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, VI. 46, 53, 163. It was said that Somers would replace Ormond as lord lieutenant of Ireland. Hearne, I. 56. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 96; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 272.

<sup>3</sup> P. C. Reg., LXXXI. 359; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 8; Leadam, p. 124; Hearne, I. 51.

The Whigs were equally favored in promotions in the peerage, by which they sought to minimize the influence of earlier Tory creations. During the years 1705 and 1706, ten peers were promoted, and one eldest son called to the Lords. Three influential politicians, Godolphin, Cowper, and Sir Thomas Pelham, were created peers. Among the promotions were Argyle, Kent, Montagu, Wharton, Bedford, and Poulett,<sup>1</sup> whose presence in the upper house strengthened the queen and her ministers in their control of that chamber.

To what extent these offices and promotions were rewards for services performed or expected, it is difficult to conjecture. That they were so in no inconsiderable degree is attested by Shrewsbury's again refusing to join the ministry even at Marlborough's earnest solicitation, although he was willing to give the duke his proxy,<sup>2</sup> for he knew that joining the ministry meant voting in accordance with the wishes of the queen and her ministers, which he was then unwilling to do. After the failure of the "tack," Godolphin wrote: "I shall never think any man fit to continue in his employment who gave his vote for the 'tack,'"<sup>3</sup> "Mr. Wright, Recorder of the city of Oxford is out of favour . . . at Court," wrote Hearne, "because he did not appear for Mr. Carter last election."<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Hanmer voiced a similar resentment by saying that "when he saw some men turned out of their places for not voting as they were bid, he could not help

<sup>1</sup> Sloane MSS. (B. M.), 3065, f. 72; Luttrell, VI. 113; *Annals* (1706), p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Shrewsb. Cor.*, pp. 658, 661. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Leadam, p. 66. Godolphin complained earlier that the government would go to pieces, "with no friends to support it, but some few in places." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Hearne, I. 160. Colonel Dohyn encountered difficulties because he opposed the ministerial candidates at St. Albans. *Ib.*, I. 122; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 116.

thinking that others were kept in because they had voted as they were bid."<sup>1</sup> The presence of the same influence is shown by Argyle's letter to Somers, complaining bitterly that some of the court had voted against the ministry, and he wished them dismissed, though one of his relatives was among the number. Other Whigs agreed that such courtiers should be turned out, but only after the close of parliament.<sup>2</sup> The real feelings of contemporaries is more effectually presented in the pamphlet, *Faults on Both Sides*, which laments that the court is acquiring "a new sort of power . . . by giving . . . honours, profitable places, and pensions."<sup>3</sup>

Although many replies were made to this tract, not one really attempts to answer this criticism of the ministry. An analysis of the votes for speaker shows that only fifteen or sixteen of the queen's servants voted for Bromley. Among these was George Clarke, secretary to the prince and second secretary to the board of admiralty, who two days later found himself without a position.<sup>4</sup> The ministry knew that the choice of a speaker depended entirely upon the way the office holders voted, so all the power of the ministers was used in convincing them that John Smith was the only man for whom they could vote with safety. When the election was over, Davenant wrote Harley's henchman, Erasmus Lewis, "there were only five persons in civil employments, who divided against Mr. Smith, viz: Lord Cheney, Sir John Bland,

<sup>1</sup> Hearne, I. 134-5. Coxe in the Coxe Papers (VI. 132) suggests the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 465-6. Cf. *Other Side*, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> See Defoe, *Freeholder's Plea*; Swift, *A New Way of Selling Places at Court*; *Py. Hist.*, XIII. 90; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 559; Lecky, I. 435.

<sup>4</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 268. One "of these that voted for Mr. Bromley is G. Clarke for which he is turned out of his places, and this is what all must expect that vote honestly and conscientiously." Hearne, I. 60.

Mr. Morley, Mr. Comers, the Equerry, and Mr. Clark.”<sup>1</sup>

The geographical distribution of the “queen’s servants” also indicates the existence of a definite relation between government offices and voting. A contemporary said that they numbered one hundred and twenty-six, of whom seventeen represented Cornish boroughs; fourteen hailed from the towns of Hampshire; whereas the Cinque Ports and Wilts were represented by six each. It seems that the area of rotten boroughs was as much over-represented in preferments as in parliament, since Buckinghamshire and Yorkshire had but five each of these placemen, and Wales only three, including Harley and Mansell.<sup>2</sup>

It becomes apparent, then, that the queen and her ministers made extensive use of their appointive power to gain the support of members of parliament, and that once these representatives of the people accepted an office of honor or profit under the crown, they became the agents of the ministry, and were expected to support the court in every measure of importance. Upon their failure to do so, they might be, and usually were, summarily dismissed. Furthermore, the patronage was used not only to influence the stand of politicians during the progress of elections, but also as a means to attract rising talent into the ranks of the party, by furnishing them a means of livelihood so that they might devote their whole attention to politics.

If it were not the custom to reward faithful political

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 4743, f. 44; Coxe Papers, XVII. 197, XLV. 147. Apparently the names are given, that official attention may be visited upon them. The equerry no longer held his place in 1708. *Angliæ Notitia* (1708), p. 617. Two of Prince George’s grooms of the bedchamber were dismissed partly on account of their political activity. Samuel Masham succeeded one of them. *Marlb. MSS.*, 53. See also *Priv. Cor.*, II. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *A List of Gentlemen that are in Offices, Employments, etc.*

servants by preferments and peerages, it would be difficult to account for the opposition which developed against the bill which required any member of parliament accepting an office under the crown to vacate his seat in the Commons, because, after resigning, the fortunate man might appeal to his constituents for re-election. Moreover, it was not the politicians alone who objected so strenuously to such a law, because the queen herself asked her friends to vote against it.<sup>1</sup> She realized that it would limit her power over members of the House of Commons, as many who accepted office under the crown would be replaced in parliament by more independent men, who would oppose, rather than favor, ministerial measures.

The cry against such abuses of the patronage had been rife since the increase of the power of parliament after the Revolution. The feeling was widespread that the sovereign should be prevented from keeping the same parliament indefinitely. The Mutiny Bill and the financial necessities of the crown made frequent sessions imperative, but once the king had secured a House of Commons to his liking, he might retain its services indefinitely by such corrupt means as he chose. During William's reign, strenuous endeavors had been made on several occasions to make the members of parliament more representative of the constituencies and less subject to court influence, but except for the Triennial Act, all such efforts were fruitless and corruption increased apace during the early years of the next reign. Anne, however, saw fully as much need for retaining her political influence as had William, but the reform movement was stronger. That part of the Act of Settlement disqualifying those who had "an office or place of profit under the king," had been repealed before it could go

<sup>1</sup> Anne twice requested Dr. Sharp to oppose the bill. Sharp, I. 299.

into effect,<sup>1</sup> and thus the way was cleared for passing some law incapacitating the host of placemen who sat in the Commons, or at least, making it more difficult for them to secure seats.

As early as 1702, people were saying that the High-fliers planned to strike at the power of the Whigs by requiring a large income from land as a qualification for sitting in parliament.<sup>2</sup> Within a short time, the matter was well under way, but gradually disappeared from notice,<sup>3</sup> while the two houses quarreled over other questions. Two years later, the Tories in the lower house passed a bill excluding from the Commons all persons holding any office created since February, 1684, or that would be provided for in the future. The Lords amended it, and the bill was lost because the Commons refused to consent to the changes. Then the Tories introduced another bill excluding from parliament those who received any income from the public taxes, but that failed even in the lower house.<sup>4</sup>

Reform could not long be delayed. These abortive bills and the repeal of the "revolutionary exclusion" clause of the Act of Settlement brought about the passage of an act two years later, which incapacitated three general classes from becoming members of parliament: those accepting any office created since October, 1705; those holding pensions from the crown during pleasure; certain specified officials, such as colonial governors, commissioners of prizes, etc. Any member of parliament accepting an office of profit under the crown must resign

<sup>1</sup> Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution* (4th ed.), I. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 200-1; *L. J.*, XVII. 277, 300; *Rijks Archief*, 26A, Jan. 3, 1703; *C. J.*, XIV. 277.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, II. 29. See also Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, I. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlen, p. 186; Luttrell, V. 508-18, *passim*.



his seat, but he might stand for re-election.<sup>1</sup> The Whig leaders opposed the measure because it would exclude traders and contractors from the Commons and lessen the influence of the commercial classes upon whom they depended for financial support inside and outside of parliament.<sup>2</sup> One strong opponent of the bill hoped that Anne might veto it if it passed, while Godolphin was using all his influence against it because he did not wish the Tories to obtain such an advantage.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that courtiers were required to support the queen's measures as set forth by her ministers. For minor appointments Anne was not always responsible. In any important change, however, she was consulted, although she had no desire to have her name mentioned in the matter. In most instances both Godolphin and Marlborough found her mind made up, and they soon became aware that Harley could more easily gain her to their wishes than any other man at court.<sup>4</sup> St. John testified that in granting commissions in his department, Anne frequently gave the directions herself, a plan which was also employed before he came to the War Office,<sup>5</sup> and was probably in use in other departments. If so, it shows that the queen was to some degree individually responsible for a large number of appointments, and candidates personally obnoxious to her had difficulty in securing important places, even when political expediency suggested their appointment.

Early in the reign, Anne forbade her courtiers to traffic

<sup>1</sup> 6 Anne, c. 41. See also Anson, *op. cit.*, I. 83, and 4 & 5 Anne, c. 20.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, II. 29A; Cowper, *Diary*, pp. 11-2.

<sup>3</sup> Cowper, *Diary*, p. 10; Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, f. 280. See also Chamberlen, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> A letter from Godolphin to Harley contains some indications of this as early as May, 1702. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 219.

in court places under penalty of her displeasure.<sup>1</sup> Somewhat later, she refused to sign the commission of one "D'Offarell," as major general, because she wished more information about the case.<sup>2</sup> Cowper soon noted that at cabinet council meetings she took a particular interest in all appointments. On one occasion she selected an English judge and a chief baron for Ireland; on another, she was asked to sanction the appointment of two deputy lieutenants of the Tower.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, her steady insistence upon having her way must have been trying to the party leaders.

Three motives prompted Anne's actions. It pleased her vanity; it kept her closely in touch with state affairs; last, but not least, it gave her an opportunity to reward her friends and punish her enemies. Such premiums upon compliance with the wishes of the queen and her ministers, and penalties upon obstinate refusals, had much influence in carrying out ministerial policies. Her attitude in the entire matter is manifest in her conduct towards the Pretender and the Hanoverians.

In her struggle against James II and later against William III, she had, as princess, been supported by the Marlboroughs. With the death of her father and her own accession, it might be expected that her attitude toward the Pretender would be influenced by the Duchess of Marlborough. In consequence, her position was most embarrassing. The Pretender was her brother, and by hereditary right the throne belonged to him. Yet he was being reared as a Catholic,<sup>4</sup> and his followers were in

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell, V. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, f. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Strickland, XII. 125-34; S. P. Dom., Anne, VIII. 22. Once she ordered Cowper to bring the roll of the sheriffs to the council meeting. See his *Diary*, pp. 5-25, *passim*. Later she wrote that two officials who "had done wrong in Parliament" must be removed. *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Anne's opposition to his Catholicism is unquestioned. See Thomas, pp.

spirit traitors to the crown.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, she was the sovereign through an act of parliament, which had guaranteed the succession. Just before her accession, she wrote Lady Marlborough: "I am not apt to believe all the reports one hears, so I cannot give in to the opinion that there are many Jacobites in England but I'm as well satisfied as you can be that those that are so are as much enemies as the Papists, and I am very sensible these people will always have designs against me; for as long as the young man [Pretender] in France lives (which by the course of nature will be longer than me) nobody can doubt but there will be plots against my crown and life; you may be sure I'll take as much care of both as I can, and I should be very glad to know what care [you] . . . would have me take of myself and . . . would have me do." Of these lines, the duchess wrote, "It is plain she does not intend to put herself in the hands of the Jacobites, and I never could observe that she had any scruples about wearing the crown, nor any inclination towards those that were in that interest, if she believed them so, tho' she always loved the Tories, because she believed they would be for her against her brother, and I believe to the last that Mrs. Masham's ministers never ventured further . . . than to persuade her that it was best for the Protestant religion for him to come after her death."<sup>2</sup> Later, Anne acknowledged "that she was not sure the Prince of Wales was her brother, and that it was not practicable for him to come here without ruin to religion and the country."<sup>3</sup> Her independence is plainly indicated, and the duchess recognized that here,

85, 91; Remusat, I. 286; Stoughton, *Religion in England*, p. 6. See her speech before parliament at its dissolution in 1702; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 25.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XV. 76. See *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> From Blenheim Papers, printed in Reid, p. 107.

at least, was a question which even Anne's most intimate friends dared not raise with impunity.

The case was the same with reference to her legal successors. It was unfortunate that she disliked all the members of the Hanoverian family. It is even pathetic that she, like her Tudor prototype, should feel such repugnance even at the mention of her successor's name, while her soul revolted at the very idea of bringing him to England. But her convictions were absolutely fixed. "But those of the Whigs . . . little knew how impracticable the project of [the] *invitation* was, and that the attempt would have only served to make the QUEEN discard her ministry, to the ruin of the common cause of these kingdoms and of all Europe." So wrote the duchess, and added, "I have often tried HER MAJESTY upon this subject; and when I found that she would not hear of the successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young PRINCE OF HANOVER who was not to be her immediate successor, and that she would let him live here as her son, but her MAJESTY would listen to no proposal of this kind in any shape whatsoever."<sup>1</sup>

Had Anne consented to this wise suggestion, she would have saved herself as well as her statesmen endless worry, for as long as she failed to come out enthusiastically for the Electress Sophia and her descendants, she encouraged the faction at St. Germain and the Jacobites in believing that she was willing to have her half brother succeed her. Moreover, it misled the French, who felt that Anne's tenderness for the Chevalier might lead her at any time to make peace.<sup>2</sup> Such a fear certainly lay in

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 150; Coxe Papers, XXIII. 197. Miss Strickland says that Sarah poisoned Anne's mind against the Electress Sophia, but fails to cite any evidence. *Queens*, XII. 120, 131-2.

<sup>2</sup> Louis XIV and his ambassadors failed to understand Anne's feelings,

the minds of some of the Dutch statesmen, and caused even the better informed English ministers no little disquietude, as they were unable to complete arrangements for carrying out the Act of Settlement or take any precautions against a revolutionary uprising at Anne's death for several years after her accession. Furthermore, it gave disgruntled Highfliers an unexampled opportunity of annoying the queen and her advisers, because she was obsessed with the idea that by some trick, one of the political parties would get an address through one or both houses to invite over the Protestant heir, or that uninvited, Sophia or one of her grandchildren would, by the connivance of some influential Whig or Tory, come to London.

English political intrigues had reached Hanover and disturbed their quiet, dividing the court into two factions. Sophia was perhaps slightly Tory in her sympathies, although she tried to keep the balance even between the disturbers. Her son, the elector, was openly Whig, and Anne had for him a "great aversion."<sup>1</sup> The queen's alarm was not diminished by a letter from the aged but still charming electress, who was somewhat at odds with the elector. Having been repeatedly solicited by some officious personages<sup>2</sup> to come to England, Sophia took full cognizance of their communications, and wrote to Anne, "that the message came from such as were enemies to

as they were ready to guarantee the security of her throne, if she should take measures to have the Prince of Wales succeed her. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 259; Klopp (X. 6) believed that Anne grew nearer to the Pretender after Prince George's death.

<sup>1</sup> Seward's *Anecdotes*, II. 294, quoted from Toland's *Travels in Prussia* (1703); Macpherson, II. 178-9; *Marib. MSS.*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Notably Rochester, Gwynne, Hutton, Edward Howe, and Scott. For the diplomatic aspects of this perplexing question, see Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34521, f. 61, *passim*; S. P. For., German States, CLXII. *passim*; Hanoverian Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, *passim*; Coxe Papers, XIX. 163-4, 171; XXIII. 152, 197; Sharp, I. 271-2.

her family. That she would never hearken to such a proposal, but when it came from the Queen . . . herself.”<sup>1</sup>

The plain implication was that the electress expected an invitation from the queen. Instead of reassuring Anne that she had nothing to fear from the Hanoverian family, this message increased her apprehensions, showing her to what ends the disaffected in England were likely to go in embarrassing her. Her fears were not groundless. Two days after Sophia’s letter was read before the council, Anne wrote in haste to Marlborough: “The disagreeable proposal of bringing some of the House of Hanover into England (which I have been afraid of so long) is now very near being brought into both Houses of Parliament, which gives me a great deal of uneasiness, for I am of a temper always to fear the worst. There has been assurances given that Mr. Shutes [the Hanoverian envoy] should have instructions to discourage the proposition, but as yet, he has said nothing of them, which makes me fear there may be some alteration in their resolution in the Court of Hanover. I shall depend upon your friendship and kindness to set them right in notions of things here, and if they will be quiet, I may do so, too, or else I must expect to meet with a great many mortifications.”<sup>2</sup>

The zealous High Churchmen, disgruntled by their defeat on the Occasional Conformity Bill and the “tack,” sought revenge by taking up the question of the succession. They knew that the Whigs were anxious to have the electress or one of her descendants in England, as a guarantee against the Pretender, an arrangement to which Anne would never consent. The Tories felt,

<sup>1</sup> Cowper, *Diary*, 11 November, 1705; *Manchester, Court and Society*, II. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 52.

therefore, that if they raised this question, the Whigs would be in a dilemma. If the Whigs favored the measure, they would certainly alienate Anne; if they opposed it, they would lose support in Hanover.<sup>1</sup> Naturally enough, the Tories hoped to discredit their adversaries and gain the ear of the queen. As early as 1704, Rochester had suggested such a maneuver, but it was not until the following year that Haversham moved in the Lords that the electress should be invited over as the heir apparent. The issue was now clear and the Whigs must get out of the difficulty as best they could, because such leading Tories as Buckingham, Rochester, Nottingham—all of them until recently Anne's favorites—were certain to give the resolution their enthusiastic support.<sup>2</sup>

Although Anne might consider as a personal affront the actions of those statesmen who had so recently voted for Bromley as speaker, she was affected in a still more vital way by the problem of the succession, which had both personal and religious aspects that came very close to her heart. Already the Tories had touched her to the quick when they had insinuated that the church was in danger, and she paid her compliments to them immediately afterwards.

The Tories thus learned how easy it was to annoy her, and shortly after the session opened, the disgruntled "tackers" continued their assault upon the ministry. The Whigs were worried, as was the queen. The latter conceived that her attendance upon the debates might mitigate the rancor of the speakers, so she was present *incognito* in the Lords during the discussion.<sup>3</sup> Her

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34521, ff. 43-4; Macpherson, I. 690.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, I. 307-8; *House of Lords MSS.*, VI. (n. s.), xxii.-xxiv.; Hearne, I. 82, 90; *Memoirs of Halifax*, pp. 132-6; *Annals* (1705), p. 195; *Bagot MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 341; Marlborough himself thought of inviting over the electoral prince, it seems. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 490.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, V. 182; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. ii.

presence may have calmed somewhat the more audacious debaters, though Haversham, the most voluble of the high Tories, and Buckingham spoke in a brutal fashion, insisting that there was no real guarantee for the Protestant succession, if the Pretender could reach England in three days, while it took a Hanoverian as many weeks. Buckingham even insinuated that Anne might survive her faculties and "be like a child in the hands of others."

These hot-headed Tories did not reckon on the Stuart queen's spirit, which had become thoroughly aroused. She had already begun to rally around her some stanch and influential supporters. Not only had she called upon Marlborough, but the Archbishop of York as well. "A message had been sent by the Queen," he wrote in his diary, "to order me to wait on her at five o'clock . . . her business was to tell me that she had heard that a motion would be made in our house to send for the Princess of Hanover, in pursuance of what my Lord Rochester had threatened in a speech the last Parliament, and to persuade me to use my interest with my friends not to come into the motion." Nor did she let him go until he had given his promise to oppose the plan, which was "nothing but a pique to her Majesty." At her request, the archbishop called upon Rochester to induce him to abandon the obnoxious motion, but he refused, insisting that the motion was reasonable, if, he added significantly, "we really meant that the House of Hanover should succeed after the Queen's death." Sharp did his best to check the plans of the Highfliers, but a few days later, Anne sent for him again, because "she had heard the business of the heir of Hanover would be moved in both houses and therefore she desired me to take occasion . . . to tell everybody my sense of it."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 457-68; *Conduct*, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, I. 308-9.



All Anne's efforts to keep the motion out of parliament were fruitless. Yet she had given warning, and her friends hurried to her support. In addition, two members of the junto, Somers and Halifax, opposed the motion with all their eloquence,<sup>1</sup> which was sufficient, when coupled with Whig votes, to overwhelm both Nottingham and Rochester, who insisted that the succession could never be safe so long as the heir apparent lived outside the realm. Despite Lady Marlborough's pessimism, the ministry was able to defeat the project, and, aided by independent Whigs and moderate Tories,<sup>2</sup> even went further in vindicating the queen.

The ministry, aided by the junto, decided to brave the wrath of the Hanoverian heir and gain Anne's grateful thanks. Anne, still fearful lest this measure come up again, insisted that her supporters, now flushed with victory, should carry the struggle into the camp of the enemy.<sup>3</sup> Certain of success, they seized upon the Tory contention that the succession was in danger, to provide against all contingencies due to the absence of the heir apparent, in case of the queen's sudden death, which was quite probable, on account of her chronic attacks of gout. Bishop Burnet proposed a regency to assume temporary control of affairs upon her death. Such a bill, providing

<sup>1</sup> Hearne, I. 90. The Whigs argued that it would be an extra expense to keep up the court, and it was contrary to Anne's wishes. Halifax and Somers had been cultivating the friendship of the Hanoverians and their explanations to the elector and to Sophia make interesting reading. Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, ff. 444-5; Morrison, II. 226-8.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 65; *L. J.*, XVIII. 18; Coxe Papers, XVII. 221, XV. 76; Add. MSS., 9094. Among the moderate Tories, St. John, Harcourt, and Boyle opposed the motion. Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, ff. 245-6. Rawlinson MSS. (Bodl.), C, 983, f. 170, contains an unfavorable view of the Whig party, to which is ascribed the desire to set up an aristocratic republic at Anne's death.

<sup>3</sup> See diary entry in Sharp, I. 310. Apparently in its original form, the bill was exceedingly complex. *Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 190.

for seven lords justices to take over the government of the kingdom "in case of the Queen's demise till the next successor arrives in the kingdom,"<sup>1</sup> was brought in, thoroughly discussed and passed. The heir was also to be invited to select the names of such persons as he should like, to co-operate with those appointed by parliament. As additional security, the Privy Council was to continue for six months after the queen's death unless sooner terminated by the new sovereign,<sup>2</sup> while parliament was to remain in session after her death.

The ministry was not yet satisfied, much less the queen. At their instance, parliament passed an "Act of Naturalization,"<sup>3</sup> making citizens of all Protestants of the electoral family.<sup>4</sup> The triumph of the ministry was almost complete; the queen was pleased at the discomfiture of the Tories; the electress, flattered by such marked attention from parliament. The ministry next took up the Tory cry that the church was in danger, a charge which Anne bitterly resented, and an animated discussion ensued in the Lords, which ended in a resolution setting forth that "under the happy reign of her Majesty, the Church is in a most safe and flourishing condition, and whosoever goes about to suggest that the Church is in danger is an enemy to the Queen, the Church

<sup>1</sup> Hearne, I. 92; *L. J.*, XVII. 22; *C. J.*, XV. 51.

<sup>2</sup> 4 & 5 Anne, c. 20. In this work Sharp took a prominent part, despite the general opposition of the more zealous Highfliers, and voted against the proposition that the lord mayor of London be added to the list of Lords Justices, as it was clearly a Tory move. Nottingham had better success with his resolution that these regents should not have power to change the Act of Uniformity, the Test Act, or the Habeas Corpus Act. Sharp, I. 310; Timberland, II. 152. Lord Hervey protested against the bill, "as the falsest step that ever was made by any set of men." *Letter Books*, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> 4 & 5 Anne, c. 16; Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34521, ff. 43-4. For details concerning the passage of this act, consult *House of Lords MSS.*, VI. (n. s.), 329-36; *C. J.*, XV. 47-54; *L. J.*, XVIII. 39-59; *Le Strange MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 115; Luttrell, V. 617-9.

and the Kingdom." To this emphatic motion the Commons agreed,<sup>1</sup> and the queen was at last revenged upon her enemies.

The High Churchmen had been routed on every hand. The ministry was victorious, and it remained for them to reward the Whigs who had co-operated so faithfully; for, despite the efforts of the ministers and the worthy archbishop, a victory could not have been won without the junto. Long had they clamored for office, and just as persistently had Anne refused to listen to them; but as soon as they had agreed to support her measures, she was ready to reward them, if their demands were not exorbitant. Fortunately for them, the Whigs and the ministry pleased the queen on the three questions most vital to her: religion, the succession, and the union, and in each case, the junto and the "inner cabinet" had by the beginning of 1707 prevailed over the Tories, who were suffering from the lack of efficient leadership, as Harley and St. John now belonged to the ministry. As the Whigs felt their power, they demanded more influence; in the meantime, the junto spent every available moment in perfecting their organization. For the nonce, they were willing to aid Godolphin, although their ceaseless importunities almost drove him frantic. He found himself unable to grant all their demands, since Anne was still reluctant to admit even moderate Whigs into her councils.

To what extent the queen's hesitation was due to advice she may have received from others at court, is a problem which has never been satisfactorily solved. In approaching the question, it is necessary to show how the leading ministers lost power to the junto,<sup>2</sup> as well as

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 506. In the Lords, the vote was 61 to 30; in the Commons, 212 to 162. *Memoirs of Halifax*, pp. 132-6; *Timberland*, II. 160.

<sup>2</sup> The co-operation of the junto began as early as August, 1706. *Portl. MSS.*, II. 196.

to examine the steps by which the Whigs gradually rose in Anne's councils to a commanding position, which was made more certain by the election of 1708. The first Whig accessions to the ministry were Kent, Newcastle, and Cowper. The difficulties surrounding Sunderland's appointment make it in reality a critical period in the early history of the Whig party, and it is a commentary upon the power of the junto, that they could demand and secure from Marlborough a price for their support which he did not want to pay.

However, the aid of the junto was imperative, if the ministry was to carry on its policies against the Tory opposition. Marlborough, Godolphin, and Harley, all conceded this, and the only question open was how to secure their co-operation at the least cost. Advances to the Whigs had been made as early as the middle of 1705, but the alliance was not formally sealed until the admission of Newcastle and Cowper to the ministry. The latter described the dinner given by Harley to cement the union between the Whigs and the court. At this political feast, there were present St. John, Boyle, Cowper, and Sunderland, in addition to Harley, Marlborough, and Godolphin. Somers was invited, but excused himself,<sup>1</sup> a fact which, if taken in connection with Wharton's absence, would indicate that the working agreement between the junto and the ministry was not as yet complete. Although only a single member of the junto had been taken into the ministry, it is evident that some sort of secret arrangement between the leading ministers and Whig leaders must have existed by that time, since all Godolphin's plans with reference to Hanover and Scotland passed through parliament without a jar, a proceeding scarcely probable, had not the

<sup>1</sup> Cowper, *Diary*, Jan. 6, 1706. See also Mahon, I. 234.

Whigs voted under a clear understanding with the ministers.<sup>1</sup>

Thus in the two years between the battle of Blenheim and the appointment of Sunderland, Anne had increased her popularity; with her aid, the ministry had secured in the election of 1705 a new parliament committed to the vigorous persecution of the war; with her hearty support, the Highfliers, whom she had already dismissed from office, were again routed by the defeat of Bromley for speaker; through her lively interest in the patronage, the power of the ministry was increased; at her steady insistence, the plan to bring over the Hanoverian heir to the throne was thwarted and safeguards set up against any attempt of the Jacobites to disturb the Protestant succession. However powerful the junto may have become by 1707, it is clear that the wishes of the queen had been respected up to this time in almost every detail; in religion, in diplomacy, in appointments, and in the succession, she had made her influence felt, and she looked forward with the greatest anticipation to the completion of the union with Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> This agreement may have been kept from the queen, who disliked Wharton almost as much as she did Sunderland, and would probably have refused to co-operate in advancing the interests of the Whigs.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE DISRUPTION OF THE MINISTRY (1707-1708)

By the end of the fourth year of her reign, the queen had gained her wishes in regard to the Highfliers and the Hanoverian family. She had become definitely alienated from the more vehement Tories, and with the aid of the Marlboroughs, Godolphin, and Harley, sought to secure the position of arbiter between the two political factions, while standing aloof from each of them. The ministry had become thoroughly consolidated in its struggles against the Highfliers, and when Sunderland at last joined the cabinet, the Whig junto co-operated with the chief ministers. The queen was justly proud of all that had been achieved, but she had another object dearer to her heart by far than anything that had yet been accomplished, for, to her mind, the reign would be a failure unless she succeeded in joining Scotland, the ancestral home of her race, to England, in a parliamentary as well as a personal union.

The people of Scotland were mainly of Celtic blood, and since the Anglo-Saxon invasions, they had been at odds with England. Scotland's national heroes, such as Wallace and Bruce, had gained their fame by fighting the English. On various occasions, the Scots had openly sided with France, England's hereditary enemy, much to the annoyance of the English sovereigns, particularly the Tudors. These unfortunate conditions were somewhat remedied when, at the death of Elizabeth, James

Stuart became joint sovereign of England and Scotland. But the change was but a half measure, as each kingdom retained its own legislature; and as their interests were not always identical, friction frequently developed between them.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the inherent racial differences, the question of religion complicated political matters. England was Anglican, while Scotland had become devoutly Presbyterian, and had assisted in overthrowing Charles I. After Cromwell's brief rule, and the reign of Charles II, William III acknowledged Presbyterianism as the established religion of the Scots before he could be at peace with them. He did his best to make the union of the kingdoms closer, but in vain. Anne was fully as determined as William to accomplish it, and worked with a decided advantage, since the Scots never forgot that she was one of their own princesses. At the beginning of her reign, she raised the question of the union in her first speech to both houses. One of her first official acts was to appoint the Duke of Queensberry a commissioner to negotiate it, and on every conceivable occasion, she kept urging its advantage on Scots and English alike.<sup>2</sup>

Many things impelled the ministry towards union. The flourishing Jacobite sentiment in Scotland would then meet with greater embarrassment; the French could no longer make Scotland the center of their far-reaching conspiracies against England;<sup>3</sup> while the commercial

<sup>1</sup> The government of Scotland during this trying period is ably discussed in Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, II. Pt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 8; S. P. Dom., Anne, III. 13; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 375-6; *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 223, ff. 10, 25-9; Hearne, I. 46; Leslie Stephen, *Life of Swift*, p. 63. Numerous cipher letters in the Carte MSS. (Bodl.), particularly vol. 210, ff. 27-48, give the impression that the Jacobites were exceptionally strong in Scotland, but Defoe's *Review* (vol. II. *passim*) creates a different impression.

position of both "North and South Britain" would be greatly benefited by their union under the same laws.

Difficult as racial, political, and religious matters made Anglo-Scottish relations, the growing importance of commerce made it still more involved. As the trade of England developed, the canny Scots began to realize that they were being outdistanced. Their discontent increased accordingly, and led them to embark upon the Darien expedition, which, by virtue of their tremendous ignorance, was from the first doomed to utter failure.<sup>1</sup> The collapse of this speculative bubble ruined the Scots, and their poverty made them more willing to listen to English negotiations. On the other hand, this same extension of commerce, coupled with the problems of the succession and the war, made the English ministry exceedingly anxious for a union with Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

Few negotiations have been conducted with greater skill than the preliminaries of the union between England and Scotland, as the slightest accident might have brought them to a sudden and unfortunate conclusion. The Scots were jealous of the Act of Settlement, and when the Darien venture failed, they passed a law providing that for the future, succession to the Scottish throne should in no case be the same as the English. England retaliated, forbidding the Scots to trade with England in any

<sup>1</sup> For further details of this tragedy, consult J. S. Barbour, *Hist. of William Paterson, and the Darien Company*; H. Bingham, "The Early History of the Darien Company," *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, III.; Burnet, IV. 113, 147; Mahon, I. 282.

<sup>2</sup> The latest word upon the union is P. Hume Brown's *The Legislative Union of England and Scotland*. This author has also recently edited Seafield's letters to Godolphin about the union. Even with Hume Brown's scholarly works on our tables, we cannot dispense with Defoe's *History of the Union*, written from observation. On the general phases of the union, see also Mackinnon, *Union of England and Scotland (1695-1745)*. A later and briefer work is W. L. Mathieson, *Scotland and the Union*.



way, but repealed the act in 1705.<sup>1</sup> Happily, the English ministry allowed their propositions to be handled in Scotland by Queensberry,<sup>2</sup> whom no violent Jacobite threats served to move in the least from his line of action. Of course, the English leaders, notably Godolphin and Harley, made his way easy, as they were too well aware of the importance of the union to be niggardly in their treatment of the impecunious Scottish representatives.

Harley's knowledge of the temperament of these legislators was excellent; no secretary of state could have been better served by agents, spies, and informers than he, because few secret service men have ever displayed such genius for work of this sort as did Defoe<sup>3</sup> and his companions. In the light of what happened later, it has been the custom to despise the efforts of Greg, one of Harley's agents in Scotland, but his letters to the secretary of state during the progress of negotiations seems to show that at this time he was both a careful observer and a faithful servant,<sup>4</sup> who did much to keep the ministry informed of Scottish affairs. In these negotiations Harley took a prominent part even before his appointment as secretary. William Paterson kept him in touch with the economic side of the negotiations, Seafield informed him of all political developments, while the versatile author of *Robinson Crusoe* attended to both sides of the question in a sympathetic, thoroughgoing, and impartial manner. Through the skill of these men, Harley and Godolphin were kept thoroughly posted of the

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 368-74; James, III. 267, 282; *L. J.*, XVII. 583.

<sup>2</sup> Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 233, ff. 10, 25-9. After the union, Queensberry became the political leader and manipulator of Scotland. Porritt, *supra cit.*, II. 89, 128, 147-58.

<sup>3</sup> Consult his letters to Harley. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 200, *sq.*; *Conduct of Parties*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> See *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 205, 346.

exact status of the negotiations.<sup>1</sup> Progress came slowly, and amid numerous difficulties. At last, somewhat to the surprise of both English and Scots, the treaty of union was agreed to by the commissioners, and then submitted to their respective parliaments for acceptance.

In the English parliament, it was expected to pass, because the queen was supporting the ministry. However, in discussing the Scottish Act at the beginning of 1705, it had been found that Godolphin lacked influence in parliament and seemed to be sinking into his dotage. All the ministry realized that he would be most bitterly attacked by the Tories, and the queen thought her attendance might cause the debaters to moderate their attacks upon him, so she was present during the debates, "at first on the throne, and after, it being cold, on a bench at the fire." Unfortunately her presence did not have the effect anticipated. Rochester and Nottingham for the Tories, as well as Somers and Halifax for the Whigs, failed to spare Godolphin, who never appeared to less advantage. Dartmouth witnessed that he "talked nonsense very fast, which was not his usual way either of matter or manner."<sup>2</sup> As a result, actual fear as to the fate of the articles of union prevailed among the English ministers, when the bill came before parliament two years later.

Anne and her councillors planned most skilfully. They had postponed the meeting of the English parliament in

<sup>1</sup> Paterson also supplied Godolphin with information. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 331. Seafeld's work was both accurate and invaluable. *Ib.*, 276, *sq.* The Earl of Cromartie's letters to Godolphin are also full. Morrison, I. 35. Carstares' correspondence is extensive. *Portl. MSS.*, VI., VII. *passim.* For other letters to Harley about Scotland, see *ib.*, IV. 250, *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 179; Cunningham, II. 78. Mahon is beyond the mark when he says: "His fire indeed was nearly burned out and it might almost be said of him that henceforth during the remainder of his life he played but a subordinate part in his own administration." *Queen Anne*, p. 166.

1706 until the Commissioners for the Union had completed their work, and the Scottish parliament had nearly concluded its deliberations. The queen's address from the throne as the session opened, was calculated to advance the cause of the union, and the reception accorded Marlborough upon his return from the Continent took up much of the time of parliament in its opening session, but this exaltation of the military hero was intended to have practical results, since it was hoped that the glory which had come to British arms abroad might lead the Scots and English alike to look upon the complete union of the two nations with more complaisance. Moreover, the English public had been educated to the advisability and advantages of the union, through the publication of a large number of interesting pamphlets; and when the vote came, the English parliament accepted the articles of union without much difficulty.

In the legislature of Scotland, the outcome was more doubtful, as the local patriotism of the Scot was intense. The English ministers, at this point, displayed great finesse; for, instead of attempting the crude method of bribing influential members of the assembly, they preferred the more circuitous, but fully as effective plan of agreeing to pay the delinquent salaries of the needy Scottish officials, and assume Scotland's share of the war debt.<sup>1</sup> The *pourparlers* had been long and tiresome. Throughout, Scottish jealousy and English indifference threatened the failure of the plan so dear to the queen, but with her insistence,<sup>2</sup> Harley's tact, and Godolphin's

<sup>1</sup> Despite the Tory claim, there was no crass corruption. Burton, I. 484-94; Brown, *Legislative Union*, pp. 126-8; Burnet, V. 301-3. For the old view see *Life of her late Majesty* (1721), I. 423; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 327.

<sup>2</sup> The Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29548, f. 29, contains a letter of Anne to Queensberry, which shows her great interest in the negotiations. Another of her letters in Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 4, shows how she trusted him. Anne later became enraged at the obstinate opposi-

honesty and attitude of compromise, the Scots under the leadership of Queensberry and Hamilton were brought into line.<sup>1</sup>

To no one statesman or group of statesmen can be accorded the honor of uniting England and Scotland. Most of the praise must go to the queen, Godolphin, and Harley; although in the distribution of praise, Defoe, Seafield, and Queensberry must not be forgotten. Nor to the court alone goes all the glory for the treaty, as its ratification at Westminster depended upon the support of the Whigs. Although at first the Tories apparently favored the union, as the movement progressed, their leaders fought incessantly against it, on the grounds that it was unfavorable to England, and granted too much to the Scottish Presbyterians. The fears of English churchmen brought forth against the treaty the eloquence of Hooper, Beveridge, and other bishops, but they more than met their match in debate with Burnet and the junto, who maintained that the danger to England lay not in the Dissenters, but in France and Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> Numbers, too, favored the Whigs, and once more the Tory zealots were forced to accept defeat at the hands of the ministry, after they had again discredited themselves with the queen, whose memory of such actions was too apt to be vindictive.

In such an epochal undertaking, there is praise enough for all, because the union marks a milestone in the history of the empire, as well as in the history of England. It

tion of the Scots to the appointment of Lord Forfar. Add. MSS., 28070, f. 10. A personal letter from Anne to Queensberry is in Add. MSS., 12093, f. 18, while Halifax's letter to Godolphin as to Anne's relation to the negotiations is found in Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, f. 300.

<sup>1</sup> See *Lockhart Papers*, I. 133; G. W. T. Ormond, *Fletcher of Saltoun*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 295; *Marchmont MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 158; *Seafield MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 192-8.

made a closer union between Celt and Anglo-Saxon, between Presbyterian and Anglican, which was the beginning of the end for the Jacobites. For the Scots, it meant greater economic and political freedom, as well as the opportunity to act as pioneers in the British empire arising beyond the seas;<sup>1</sup> for the English, a steady ally, rather than a treacherous neighbor.

As soon as the articles of union had been agreed upon in March, 1707, Anne came to the Lords to pass the act in the customary form. She could not refrain from expressing her satisfaction at what had been accomplished, and entreated her "subjects of both nations [to] . . . act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that it may appear to all the world that they have hearts disposed to become one people."<sup>2</sup>

Such advice was sorely needed, as only a few weeks passed before the commercial provisions of the treaty brought trouble. It had been agreed that from May 1, 1707, freedom of trade should exist between England and Scotland. Merchants, who had been accustomed to pay heavy import duties to bring goods into England, found it more profitable now to ship goods to Scottish ports, where the duties were low, and reship them to England after May 1. The English naturally objected to the methods of these quick-witted traders, and the Commons passed a law prohibiting the free importation into England of goods landed in Scotland a short time before the union. The peers realized that by sanctioning the bill, they would cause the Scots to doubt England's sincerity, and endanger the permanence of the union. As a result, they refused to pass it. To lessen the heat among the Commoners, and to prevent, if possible, a clash between

<sup>1</sup> Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, II. 89, sq.; W. C. Webster, *General History of Commerce*, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 576.

the houses, Anne resorted to a week's prorogation. The lower house continued obstinate, however, and sent up a second bill to the Lords. A quarrel, which seemed now inevitable, was obviated by the queen's tact in proroguing parliament.<sup>1</sup>

The union itself is a splendid illustration of what a unified ministry could do with the aid of the queen, but Sunderland's attempt to become a member of the cabinet council gives us a clear idea of the relative influence of the various ministers, since in this case, the "inner cabinet" was divided, and Anne sided with the minority. Godolphin and Marlborough eventually triumphed over her wishes, partly on account of the importunities of the Whigs and the duke's military prowess, but more largely it would seem, from the political necessity of unanimity in the council while the all-important matter of the union was under way.

Such unity of purpose in the ministry was soon seen to be temporary, as it was obvious by the close of 1706 that differences of opinion had already risen. Sunderland and the duchess knew that Harley had sought to prevent Sunderland's entry into the ministry. The short prorogation of parliament incensed this impetuous young Whig and republican, who insisted that Harley was responsible for Anne's action.<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, almost steady strife existed in the ministry, for Sunderland was a restless individual with many of the characteristics of the born agitator, showing an almost uncanny ability to do the wrong thing at just the moment to occasion the greatest difficulty to his associates.

This was true in Spanish affairs. Only one able English general had been sent to the peninsula—the impetuous and highly eccentric Earl of Peterborough, who won

<sup>1</sup> W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Robert Walpole*, II. 8; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 577-81.

<sup>2</sup> Mahon, 287; Coxe, II. 35.

marvelous victories while violating every canon of military science. One of Sunderland's first official acts was to recall Peterborough, thus giving free reign to the rivalry of Galway and Rivers, which brought about the debacle at Almanza.<sup>1</sup> Only a few weeks later, the English learned that Admiral Shovel's fleet had met a great disaster off the Scilly Isles and the admiral had lost his life.<sup>2</sup> These two disasters weakened the influence of the ministry. Had Marlborough been able to do anything to relieve the gloom, it would have been well for them, but the selfishness of the Dutch and Imperial authorities, coupled with the refusal of the French commanders to give him battle, prevented this consummation, while during his inactivity, his allies were badly defeated on the Rhine. Such reverses discouraged the Dutch, and Buys, one of their leading statesmen, began to talk about "reasonable" terms of peace.<sup>3</sup>

Louis XIV took heart, and imagined it would be easy to negotiate a peace, if he could gain the support of Marlborough, who was by no means sanguine as to the outcome of the conflict. The duke was fully aware that victory alone could make him popular in England, and popularity alone would enable him to remain one of Anne's influential advisers. Without her aid, he believed it would be futile to attempt any great military exploits in the face of Tory hatred, court jealousy, and popular disfavor.

Marlborough knew the weakness of Godolphin, and his liveliest fears as to Sunderland were being realized, for the latter began to quarrel with Harley. Moreover, Sunderland's influence over the duchess increased her proselyting activity with the queen in favor of the Whigs,

<sup>1</sup> A. Parnell, *The War of the Succession in Spain*, ch. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* (1707), 241-2.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe, II. 44, 105; Luttrell, VI. 174.

which was certain to arouse all of Anne's hereditary obstinacy, and reduce the influence of the ministers. Worst of all, Lady Marlborough began to absent herself from court for long intervals.

At the same moment that he had brought Scottish affairs to a happy conclusion, Godolphin, too, began to realize that the queen's attitude was growing more independent. In diplomacy, she insisted upon interfering more and more; in civil appointments, she raised more questions than had been her custom; and in church affairs, she practically demanded a free hand. For a time he knew only that she was unfriendly towards his policies, but it was months before he became aware that she was acting upon the suggestions and confidential advice of others.<sup>1</sup>

It is indeed strange that the Marlboroughs or Godolphin should not have recognized this earlier. However, it took some important event to bring the facts home to them. This enlightening incident fell in the domain of ecclesiastical affairs. For over five years, Godolphin had exercised at least a nominal control over the selection of the queen's civil servants and over the policy of the crown. One would not expect Godolphin's supervision over the queen's ecclesiastical appointments to be so close, for she was particularly interested in religious affairs, and might naturally insist upon having even more of her way than in the choice of public officials.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the part played by the queen in ecclesiastical matters is

<sup>1</sup> Reid, p. 148; Coxe, II. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, p. 131. "The influence of Queen Sarah over Queen Anne . . . was in political more than in religious matters; the Queen's friends did not, to any great extent, influence her in the distribution of church patronage." J. Stoughton, *Religion in Eng.*, p. 5. "Church patronage was the thing above all others on which the queen exercised her own judgment." Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 82. In this respect she resembled Queen Victoria. Cross, *Hist. of Eng. and Greater Brit.*, p. 1037. Hearne believed that the duchess greatly influenced church appointments. *Collections*, I. 104, 133.



in one sense the key to her political policy; and nowhere else does her influence appear in clearer light, or the interaction of religion and politics become more apparent.

William III, unfamiliar with the administration of the Established Church, and fearful lest his ignorance might produce difficulties, had appointed a commission to fill "all preferments vested in the crown," and to supervise in a general way all things ecclesiastical. Anne had scarcely ascended the throne before she decided to take into her own hands the presentations to benefices, and "herself dispose of all ecclesiastical preferments belonging to the Crown as they became vacant, and not leave it to the Archbishop of Canterbury and five other bishops as the late king did."<sup>1</sup> To some extent, Anne's decision may have been due to her dislike of Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Mary had selected; since Anne had passed him by and invited the Archbishop of York to deliver her coronation sermon. However, the dismissal of the ecclesiastical commission just as clearly denoted her desire to exercise a more direct influence over the church, which she cherished so much, and to keep ambitious Whigs out of important benefices.

Among the higher clergy were some of Anne's closest friends. The energetic Bishop of London was her protector on that lonely, stormy night when she sacrificed her father for the sake of her religion. Such favors Anne never forgot, and as a privy councillor, Compton was frequently consulted about church policies, and it was believed that the failure to renew the ecclesiastical commission was chiefly due to his advice.<sup>2</sup> Yet, in spite of

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell, V. 157. See also Von Noorden, I. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Henry Compton, Bishop of London*, pp. 65-9. Harley also suggested that the bishops, "who are great patrons themselves, should not solicit her majesty, who has so few livings left," and urged that a merit system should be adopted to provide for the impecunious graduates in divinity at Oxford and Cambridge.

his many good traits, this bishop was not sufficiently monastic in his demeanor to act as her father confessor, even though he were the dean of her own private chapel.

That important rôle was reserved for Dr. Sharp, the cautious Archbishop of York,<sup>1</sup> who exerted a larger influence on affairs ecclesiastical than his professed superior, Dr. Tenison. Early in the reign, Anne had offered Dr. Sharp the position of chief almoner<sup>2</sup> and a seat in the Privy Council, both of which he refused. Subsequently, however, he accepted these evidences of her generosity and good will, even under the implied condition, imposed by the queen, that a part of his duties should consist in making the bishops in the House of Lords "vote right."<sup>3</sup> This valuable function he seems to have performed at various critical moments in the first half of the reign, but reluctantly and only at Anne's express solicitation.

In determining ecclesiastical policies, his advice was more often sought than in filling vacancies in the church, although even here he assumed an important and praiseworthy part. Sir William Dawes, the newly appointed Bishop of Chester, was his close friend, and Sharp planned successfully to have the baronet succeed him as Archbishop of York. The queen unquestionably chose to rely upon the discretion of Dr. Sharp, as she knew that in executing her instruction, he, while working for the best interests of the church, constantly took into account the political situation. Occasionally he actively championed the claims of some exceptionally efficient theologian, as Trimnel, who had been Anne's chaplain since 1701. Concerning this enthusiastic divine, he

<sup>1</sup> Indeed Anne told Sharp that she intended him to succeed to the deanery, if Compton, who was getting old, should pass away. Sharp, I. 313.

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, who had been deprived for his interference in the elections of his county. *Py. Hist.*, VI. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Sharp, I. 299-300.

noted: "I heartily wish Dr. Trimnel had some good preferment in the Church; for he well deserves it, and indeed I do not know a better man. If my good character of him to her Majesty can add anything to her Grace's [Lady Marlborough] recommendation, I am not only ready but shall be glad to give it at all times." Trimnel soon became Bishop of Norwich.<sup>1</sup> Thus in appointing bishops, Anne listened attentively to Sharp's intelligent opinion, but by no means invariably followed it. Occasionally his suggestions failed to please her, and at other times, the political exigencies made it impossible for her to carry out their joint wishes.

Having personal access to the queen, with whose High Church ideas he was in the closest accord, he enjoyed her confidence in political as well as ecclesiastical affairs. Especially was this true at a time when she was at odds with the pretensions of her leading ministers, who sought to enforce their will upon her. Indeed, on occasions, Sharp seems to have been consulted on Anne's intended changes in the ministry, because he, like Harley, his colleague in the council, strongly advised her against taking into the ministry anyone of whom she personally disapproved.<sup>2</sup> Along with others like Burnet, he was most influential in supporting her desire to apply Queen Anne's bounty to the relief of distressed<sup>3</sup> curates. He saw personally such important members of the lower

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, I. 333-6. See also *Annals* (1708), p. 373; Coxe, II. 103. Trimnel's pretensions were also supported by Nottingham, and by Sunderland, whose tutor he had been. For an excellent summary of his life, see Hearne, I. 218. Other evidences of his general activity may be found in Morrison, V. 39; S. P. Dom., Anne, IV. *passim*; *ib.*, II. 44, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, I. 251, 319; *Other Side*, p. 153; *Winchelsea and Nottingham MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> The word "distressed" is used advisedly, for nearly a fifth of the clergy received £10 or less a year, a fourth more received £20 or less. Fewer than one in every six received £50 or more. *Edinburgh Review*, XXXVIII. 151. See also W. Palin, *History of the Church of England*.

house as Onslow, Harcourt, William Bromley, and St. John. In the Lords, he spoke twice in its favor and carried all the bishops with him for the measure, which passed by only seven votes.<sup>1</sup>

It is most natural that Anne confided in Sharp, and made him "her confessor,"<sup>2</sup> for not even by a violent stretch of the imagination, could any of her leading ministers be considered pious. Godolphin's chief interest in life lay in cock-fighting and horse-racing, neither of which could be expected to appeal to the sensitive mind of the queen. The Marlboroughs were also decidedly mundane in their views of life, and Harley's influence in church affairs must have been limited by the queen's knowledge that he had been bred a Dissenter, while his private views of spiritual matters remained strictly Low Church.<sup>3</sup> Of all her ministers, Nottingham was the most devout, and as a representative of the Laudian school, expected to exert a preponderant influence in church appointments.

Although the queen relied more than has previously been supposed upon Dr. Sharp's advice, his own testimony runs that she used him as her agent, rather than as her master.<sup>4</sup> Lady Marlborough's recommendations were even less final. "As to Mr. Hodely, who you are desired to recommend to me," wrote Anne to her, "the

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, I. 339-41. See also *Coke MSS.*, III. 30; S. P. Dom., Anne, XXV. *passim*; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, I. 301. See also *Other Side*, pp. 153-7. The duchess said he was Anne's "chief counsellor in church-matters." *Conduct*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Anne's decided preference for the clergy of the Laudian type does not mean that she was intolerant, but only that she treated High Churchmen with the greater kindness. The Quakers never experienced better usage than during her reign, and the Dissenters, as a whole, were disturbed very little after the failure of the Occasional Conformity Bill, in the third year of her rule, until its final passage in 1711. William Sewel, *Hist. of the Quakers*, II. 595-613; *Life of Calamy*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> "Yet this regard was had to him, notwithstanding that the Queen would rarely give her promise without his advice, and, generally speaking, consent first obtained." Sharp, I. 334-5.

Archbishop of York did amongst others, name him as one he thought might be proper to succeed Dr. Beveridge, but said, too, that he was young and might stay for preferment better than others, and the last time I saw him . . . he told me that by all the inquiries he had made he believed Dr. Waugh would be the fittest man for this living of Dr. Beveridge, and upon his saying so, I told him he should have it.'<sup>1</sup>

On account of Anne's religious views, the Highfliers, at the beginning of the reign, expected to fill all vacant preferments with zealous High Church ecclesiastics, but they were grievously disappointed, as Anne kept a watchful eye over preferments, and it must have been a source of annoyance to them that Sharp was so liberal minded in his recommendations as to consider the character and training of candidates as well as their dogma and political inclinations.

On a few occasions, the queen unexpectedly requested others to fill vacant benefices. The Bishop of St. David's had been convicted of simony and the see had been without a bishop for months. In the interim, Anne was deluged with applications, from which there emerged four leading candidates for the place. Realizing that to select one of these worthies would mean the loss of the support of the other three, Anne confessed her inability to choose among four such excellent men and turned the thankless task over to Dr. Tenison.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 27. Benjamin Hoadly was one of the more active Low Church divines. As a pamphleteer, he was most industrious, but his religious views did not appeal to the queen. He was under the Hanoverians successively appointed to four sees. Sharp, I. 312, 335; Morrison, V. 39; Burnet, V. 17; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, *passim*; *Winchelsea and Nottingham MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlen, p. 188. S. P. Dom., Anne, XXIV., consists of a parchment box filled with petitions from the clergy and others about church affairs. She might have desired to embarrass the archbishop who appointed the learned Dr. Bull. S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CL. 243-4. Hearne gives an

Whatever her purpose in this instance, Anne was usually willing to accept all the responsibility for appointments, as she always felt that the church was in danger when appointments were controlled by Whigs. "As to my saying the Church was in some danger in the late reign," she wrote the Duchess of Marlborough, "I cannot alter my opinion, for though there was no violent thing done, everybody that will speak impartially must own, that everything was leaning towards the Whigs, and *whenever that is, I shall think the Church beginning to be in danger.*"<sup>1</sup> With such deep-seated prejudices, Anne usually had the last word in disposing of vacant benefices. Indeed she was very jealous of her power in ecclesiastical affairs, and took great delight in rewarding her friends. Dr. Hooper was one of William's chaplains, and when ordered to omit the usual courtesies to the princess, he refused to do so, and thus earned Anne's gratitude. A few years later, she wished him to be appointed her son's tutor, but the king substituted Burnet. As soon as possible after her accession, she rewarded Hooper's loyalty by appointing him Bishop of Asaph, a poor benefice, it is true, nevertheless an earnest of her gratitude, since he was allowed to hold the deanery of Canterbury *in commendam*. Scarcely five months passed before he was, with Harley's help, translated to Bath and Wells, the income of which was three times as great as that of St. Asaph's. Anne's favorite chaplain also became Dean of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup>

interesting explanation. "The Low Church men to obviate the reflections made upon them for preferring none but their own party, at length promoted Dr. Bull and Beveridge to two bishoprics; but they were Welsh and such as their creatures would not accept of." I. 229. Burnet praises the queen for this action. Add. MSS. (Bodl.), D. 23, ff. 89-93.

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell, V. 304, 377-8; *D. N. B.*, article on "Hooper"; J. L. Anderdon, *Life of Thomas Ken* (1st ed.), p. 442. It was reported that Hooper was

Not long after this, Cowper was appointed lord keeper, an office which heretofore had the right of filling a considerable number of benefices. Anne at once told him that she would reserve this right, because as she wrote to the duchess: "I think the Crown can never have too many livings at its disposal and . . . it is a power I can never think it is reasonable to part with; and I hope those who come after me will be of the same mind."<sup>1</sup> Tenison was much disturbed over the queen's control of such appointments and interviewed the lord keeper about it. He received small consolation from Cowper, who had promised Anne "to present as she directed in all the valuable ones," so the archbishop went away fearing the worst from the importunities "of the women and the hangers-on at court,"<sup>2</sup> although both men agreed to co-operate in an endeavor to regain control of advowsons.

The duchess had also been much exercised at Anne's steady assumption of power over appointments, and maintained that Cowper might safely be permitted to fill vacant benefices. When Anne disagreed with her, the duchess complained of outside influences, an accusation which Anne took very much to heart. "You wrong me very much in thinking I am influenced by some you mention in disposing of Church preferments," she said in reply. "Ask those you will believe, though you won't me, and they can tell you I never disposed of any without advising with them, and that I have preferred more

to be Bishop of Rochester. Luttrell, V. 251. For Harley's activity in his behalf, see *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 63, 72. Nicholson was appointed Bishop of Carlisle even earlier. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), p. 358. Wake received his appointment to Lincoln a little later. *S. P. Dom.*, Entry Book, CL. 249.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XLV. 1. In 1707, Anne ordered the authorities to ascertain whether she did not possess the right of granting the "Residentiary's place" at St. Paul's. *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, IX. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Strickland, XII. 129. Cowper acknowledges Anne's monopoly of appointments in his *Diary*, 21 March, 1706. See J. C. Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* (1874), V. 171.

people upon other recommendations than I have his that you fancy to have so much power with me.'"<sup>1</sup>

Important as they seem to have been, it would be a great mistake to conclude that Compton and Sharp were Anne's only confidants among ecclesiastics. At her accession, Atterbury became a royal chaplain. Though he remained at Oxford for some years, his influence at court increased, and during the last four years of the reign, he exerted great power,<sup>2</sup> despite his offensive aggressiveness in favor of the Jacobites. Personally repellent to the queen was the versatile Burnet, partly because he was a Low Churchman suspected of Presbyterianism, but mainly because he insisted on lecturing her. Yet he, too, even after making liberal allowances for the egotism shown in his works, influenced her councils in a considerable degree.<sup>3</sup>

Other ecclesiastics doubtless made themselves felt from time to time, but the four just mentioned were certainly the most important political factors in the Church of England. Since ecclesiastical offices were looked upon as suitable rewards for political partisans, the ministry played an important rôle in distributing these prizes to their faithful adherents. From the outset of the reign, the treasurer, Godolphin, took an active part in granting

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XLV. 2. See also Thomson, II. 75.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CV. 93-7; H. C. Beeching, *Life of Atterbury*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, V. 105, and *passim*. In August, 1705, Burnet was told that Anne would not favor his nominee for a deanery, as she did not have the same idea of his politics as the bishop did. Add. MSS. (Bodl.), A. 191, f. 27. Wilson is certainly in error when he calls the Whig bishops "the conscience soothers" of the queen. *Import. of Reign*, p. 67. 'The aged Bishop Lloyd once told Anne he could prove from Daniel and the Revelation that she ought to make a peace. She replied: "My Lord, I am no divine. I cannot argue the matter; but Lord Oxford may perhaps answer your objections." Seward, *Anecdotes*, V. 87. From which it may be judged that Anne was not exceedingly superstitious after all.



such preferments as lay in the gift of the crown. As long as Anne and Godolphin were relying upon the High Tories for support, all went well, although the chief minister soon felt his limitations in dealing with delicate ecclesiastical and political situations, and depended increasingly upon Harley.

Having seen the part played by the queen and prominent churchmen in ecclesiastical appointments, we turn now to the activity of Harley, whose interest and importance in filling vacant benefices is indicative of the close relation of religion and politics, showing as it does the great interest which the higher ecclesiastics took in politics.

A fortnight after he accepted the seals as secretary, Harley was asked by Godolphin whether his friend, Atterbury, would care for the deanery of Carlisle. A month later, Atterbury was made dean,<sup>1</sup> and despite the strenuous opposition of Bishop Nicholson, held his place until translated to the see of Rochester. This quarrel between Atterbury and Dr. Nicholson is significant as showing the influence of politics upon religion. The bishop refused to instal Atterbury because of his supposedly heretical opinions. The climax of the quarrel is described by the latter: "Dr. Atterbury writ to Secretary Harley, and the bishop to Secretary Hedges. Both our letters were laid before the Queen and her Majesty ordered Secretary Hedges to let the Bishop of Carlisle know that the person her Majesty had presented [Atterbury] should be installed."<sup>2</sup> Whether Harley influenced Anne's order is

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 57; S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CLI. 121. Through Harley's influence, Atterbury was granted a license to be absent from his preferment. *Ib.*, CLI. 126-7. These entries are taken from Harley's "Ecclesiastical Book," which he kept while secretary of state.

<sup>2</sup> Beeching, *Life of Atterbury*, p. 138. For the details of Atterbury's quarrel with Nicholson, see *Bath MSS.*, I. 63; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 131. At Anne's suggestion, Hedges wrote the bishop, asking him not to take action

unknown, but we may safely assume that Lady Marlborough at least did not forward the candidacy of such an inveterate Tory as Atterbury.

A close friend of both Harley and Atterbury among the higher clergy was Trelawny, Bishop of Exeter, a man of great force, but exceedingly irascible. He was a species of political "boss" in Cornwall,<sup>1</sup> and placed the fullest confidence in the secretary as his intercessor with Anne, whom he had supported in her quarrels with William and Mary. Nor did this trust appear misplaced. Trelawny had, in his tactless way, engaged in a dispute with the Bishop of Bath and Wells and applied to Harley for help. "I . . . thank you for the firmness and despatch which you have been pleased to use in rescuing me," wrote the grateful bishop, "I am obliged to her Majesty for ridding me of my forward coadjutor, and to . . . the Lord Treasurer for the part . . . he took with you in making known to Her Majesty that indignity."<sup>2</sup> Trelawny was soon in the midst of another quarrel with Dr. Hooper, who, when translated to Bath and Wells, had received Anne's permission to hold *in commendam* the chantry of Exeter, with the understanding that its revenue (£200) was to go to the support of that worthy non-juror, Thomas Ken. As Bishop of Exeter, Trelawny objected in emphatic terms, and appealed once more to his friend at court. In taking up the cudgels in his behalf, Harley wrote to Godolphin that if Trelawny "be obliged in this, it will be a double advantage; it will please

against Atterbury. Add. MSS., 15946, f. 3. It was effort wasted, for the case came to trial and Nicholson won. Despite the chagrin of Sharp and Harley, Anne held that she was satisfied. *Manchester, Court and Society*, Letter of Feb. 20, 1708.

<sup>1</sup> See his correspondence with Harley in *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 416, 421, and *passim*; *Winchelsea and Nottingham MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 101, 105. He was also on good terms with Marlborough. *Bath MSS.*, III. 193.

a man of interest, and mortify another who has made her Majesty very ill returns for her Majesty's great and distinguished favors.'"<sup>1</sup> Probably Trelawny's claim was just; besides Hooper had not proved very submissive to discipline. At any rate, the latter called on the queen, who asked him to give up his claim at Exeter and promised Ken £200 a year from the exchequer. Not only in this matter, where Trelawny's favorite became Dean of Exeter, but in many others as well, Harley's wishes were respected by Anne and Godolphin.<sup>2</sup>

The relative influence of the Marlboroughs, Godolphin, and Harley over ecclesiastical appointments was soon to be evident, even to the slow moving lord treasurer. Early in November, 1706, Winchester, one of the most lucrative sees in England, became vacant. For this bishopric, Godolphin's brother and Trelawny were the leading candidates. Of the two, Dr. Godolphin possessed much the more satisfactory qualifications.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the lord treasurer was compelled, partly by the queen, and partly by political necessity, to favor Trelawny, and his brother was solaced by the deanery of St. Paul's. Only a few weeks later the new Bishop of Winchester was invested "Prelate of the most noble order of the Garter."<sup>4</sup>

Apparently Harley's friends and candidates fared better than those of the duke. Marlborough's chaplain, Dr. Hare, was one of his favorites and when the deanery

<sup>1</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 94-5; Anderdon, *Life of Ken*, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> Hearne, I. 23. Harley was also interested in the dispute between Bishops Compton and Hooper the same year. S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CV. 93-7. Further evidence of Harley's influence may be found in Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 6; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 50, 57, 274, 473, 478.

<sup>3</sup> By common report, Trelawny was an "illiterate, mean, silly, trifling, and impertinent fellow." Hearne, I. 315. See also *ib.*, II. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, V. 337; S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CLI. 44. Anne had been impressed by a sermon he delivered just after the opening of her first parliament. Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, f. 177.

at Rochester became void, he wished Hare to have it, so that by this step, he might the more surely obtain the see of Oxford upon which his heart was set. Godolphin interviewed Tenison, who thought the place must go to a Cambridge man. Even the lord treasurer felt that Hare should not be a dean without the degree of doctor of divinity, and the place eventually was given to another.<sup>1</sup>

Trelawny's promotion to Winchester created a furor, particularly among the Whigs, and thoroughly disgusted the Highfliers. To propitiate the former, Godolphin rashly promised them the preferments that were then vacant. When he interviewed Anne relative to the unfilled bishoprics of Chester and Exeter, he was greatly surprised to learn that she had already given her word to two Tory divines.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to account for his astonishment over information that seems to have been public property for a week,<sup>3</sup> on any ground other than negligence of public affairs. Nevertheless, the information shocked him. When the Whigs heard this last bit of news, they were aroused, and called a meeting of the most influential commoners, where the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire promised them on Anne's behalf that, although she could not recall these obnoxious appointments, she was nevertheless very much aware of the services the Whigs had rendered, and would in the future fully satisfy them.<sup>4</sup> In compliance with this promise,

<sup>1</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, f. 204. Hare received the degree in 1708, but his bishopric did not come until 1727.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 201; Burnet, V. 337.

<sup>3</sup> May 31, 1707, Luttrell, VI. 177-8. Yet Trelawny was not formally appointed until June 14. Salmon's *Chronology*, I. 349. This may have been one of Luttrell's frequent errors.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, V. 340. The congès of the bishops of Exeter and Chester are dated Feb. 7, 1708. S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CLI. 153-4; Add. MSS., 4743, f. 80. The presence of these two Tory bishops in the Lords imperiled Whig as well as ministerial control of that house. Leadam, p. 125.

she made Trimnel Bishop of Norwich, translated Moore to the vacant see at Ely, and appointed Kennett, the historian and divine, Dean of Peterborough, and Dr. Potter Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.<sup>1</sup> All these men were thoroughgoing Whigs, but even Hearne, the zealous non-juring antiquary, conceded that they were good preachers. This was poor consolation for the junto, for it indicated that Anne held the key to ecclesiastical appointments.

Unsatisfactory as the queen's explanation may have been to the Whigs, it was still more unpalatable to Godolphin. He was thoroughly alarmed because he was forced to acknowledge to himself that he was no longer first in Anne's confidence. Failing to have his way, the lord treasurer turned his attention toward discovering who had usurped his place in the queen's confidence. To find the interloper, it was unnecessary to look beyond the ministry itself. An investigation revealed the fact that both Godolphin and the duchess had been superseded in Anne's affections by Harley and his cousin, Abigail Hill, who acted as his efficient aid. All might have gone well with these intriguers and their machinations might have remained long undiscovered, had not Lady Marlborough found out, purely by accident, that Abigail, who was also the duchess's cousin, had been secretly married to Samuel Masham in the presence of the queen. What increased Godolphin's fear was the rumor that Harley, St. John, and Harcourt were attempting, although without success, to gain over such Tory leaders as Hanmer and Bromley, by insinuating that the queen was tired of Whig tyranny

Before the queen made her promise, there were rumors, such as "Dr. Freeman is to be Bishop of Chester, a worse could not be thought of." *Dartmouth MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 294.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 4743, f. 80; *Annals* (1708), p. 372; Hearne, II. 18, 88; S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CLI. 144, 153. Potter was Marlborough's protégé, and he was very insistent upon his appointment. Coxe, II. 101.

and wanted to be delivered from it.<sup>1</sup> Godolphin's letters to Marlborough display the deepest distress, but neither he nor the duke could change Anne's decision.<sup>2</sup>

The secrecy of Anne and Abigail also aroused the resentment and suspicion of Lady Marlborough, who presently began to realize that some one had supplanted her in the queen's affections. Immediately she suspected Abigail, and wrote the duke of her fears, but he suggested that her imagination had gained the better of her judgment, and recommended a plain confidential talk with the poor relation. The interview which followed was stormy and gave little satisfaction to the duchess. When appealed to, Anne sullenly supported Abigail, and Lady Marlborough was forced to impart her suspicions to Godolphin, who was at last thoroughly convinced of Harley's double-dealing, and wrote to Marlborough of the dangerous crisis in their affairs. In reply, the duke sent several letters to his wife and Godolphin, fully expecting them to be shown to the queen. Some of them contain by implication the threat that if Anne did not place her affairs unreservedly in the hands of Godolphin, both the general and lord treasurer would resign. One may have been addressed directly to the queen, who without a moment's hesitation took up the challenge.

Anne's lengthy message to Marlborough shows something of her real character. In answer to the complaint about ecclesiastical appointments, she insisted that she had not broken faith with Godolphin and Marlborough, for she could not see how the selection of two such worthy men for bishoprics was any breach with the ministry.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 340; Tindal, IV. 484.

<sup>2</sup> Halifax thought she might recall the appointment of Blackall at Exeter. *Manchester MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 90. Anne's letters of July 18 to the duchess and that of August 25 to the duke show the firm attitude of the queen. *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 41; Coxe, II. 99.

To the charge that these appointments were dictated by Harley, she entered an absolute denial which was confirmed *in toto* by the secretary himself, who said that he neither knew these men nor learned of their promotions until it was a matter of common report.<sup>1</sup>

Both the queen and Harley may have spoken truly, but appearances are decidedly against them. Anne doubtless told the literal truth, for it is probable that the suggestions may have come directly from Mrs. Masham, though at Harley's instigation, of course. In the case of the secretary, it is hardly possible that he was as much in the dark about the bishoprics as he pretended to be, for his interest and influence in ecclesiastical affairs had already become considerable. Nor was his power diminishing, because towards the close of October, he was the queen's trusted representative to heal the decided breach between the two houses of convocation.<sup>2</sup> A contemporary believed that Harley and his friends were responsible for the appointment of the five bishops of Winchester, Chester, Exeter, Ely, and Norwich, respectively,<sup>3</sup> but satisfactory proof is lacking in the face of the categorical denials of Anne and Harley. One other alternative has escaped the attention of careful students of the period; namely, that some one else may have acted as the queen's adviser, and there is a possibility that the man was Archbishop Sharp.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 41; *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 483-4; Burnet, V. 338. Harley's earlier denials are found in *Conduct*, pp. 198-9; the later ones in *Bath MSS.*, I. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XXIII. 225; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Salmon, *Modern History*, XXV. 431. The Duke of Newcastle wrote to Harley, 17 September, 1707: "What accident has made the scales fall from the eyes of . . . [Godolphin] for when I came to town he was in love with almost all that society [the junto] if not with every individual person of them." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 448. Somewhat later, Mrs. Masham wrote Harley that the "Queen approved your letter to the bishop." *Ib.*, 454.

<sup>4</sup> "I was just come to town and went to wait upon the Queen," wrote

Fortunately, it is not a matter of great moment how much the queen, Harley, or Mrs. Masham may have prevaricated; the important thing to keep in mind is the loss of power over Anne by Godolphin and the Marlboroughs. For the first time since her accession, their power was shaken, and the threat of joint resignation had failed to alarm Anne as they had calculated; in fact, it had left her more determined than ever to have her way in church appointments. She was also vexed by the ceaseless murmurings of the Whigs. "Whoever of the Whigs thinks I am to be hectored or frightened into a compliance, tho' I am a woman, is mightily mistaken in me," she wrote Godolphin. "I thank God I have a soul above that, and am too much concerned for my reputation to do anything to forfeit it."<sup>1</sup> Fully as alarming to Godolphin was Harley's attempted reconciliation with the Highfliers; and more dangerous still was the manifestation of a willingness on the part of the important Whigs to ally themselves with the Tories in order to discredit a ministry which had failed to comply with their wishes. The affair of the two bishoprics, therefore, marks the definite alienation of the queen from the Whigs.

The junto, of course, had ample reasons for dissatisfaction. They had defeated the "tack," and the "invitation," while they had made the union possible. In spite of all this, they had secured only three seats in the inner councils, and of their own group Sunderland had received a grudging, conditional appointment. Their requests, and later their demands, for more power in the ministry, had been delayed or refused outright. In the meantime,

Sharp in his diary, 3 November, 1707. "The Queen says, she will declare the bishops for the vacancies in a little time, and she will have some talk with me about it." Sharp, I. 301.

<sup>1</sup> From Godolphin MSS., quoted by Mahon, 537. Note that Anne falls into the identical expressions that she used when being "hectored" by William and Mary.



they had been perfecting their organization. The Kit-Kat and Calves Head Clubs were made up of energetic Whigs of the governing class.<sup>1</sup> Considerable attention was also devoted to securing able pamphleteers to present their cause to the masses,<sup>2</sup> while such men as Shrewsbury were beginning to show some consideration for members of the junto.

The first real *rapprochement* between the Whigs and Highfliers showed itself at the opening of the first parliament under the union. The subject selected for their joint action was a most dangerous one—an investigation of the Admiralty—as it involved the administration of Anne's husband as lord high admiral, a move which brought forth once more the liveliest antagonism of the queen. One reason for the investigation, probably, was the great scandal that really existed in naval affairs,<sup>3</sup> but the political animus behind it was the unparalleled op-

<sup>1</sup> John Ashton, *Social Life*, I. 238-42.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 376; Coxe Papers, XIII. 178.

<sup>3</sup> A cursory examination of the State Papers, Domestic, for the navy, particularly vol. VI. and S. P. Domestic, Anne, I. 45, 52, 93, and the Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28890, f. 193, creates a strong presumption that no able administrator was connected with the Admiralty until Pembroke succeeded Prince George. See also *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), V. 42, 66-100; VI. 8-35. For instances where the French fleet created havoc with the commerce of the allies, see Luttrell, V. 236, 303, 309; VI. 44, 147, 199, 227; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 619-62. Lord Haversham, who was his own press agent, has left his speech in the Peers on this subject. It is a good example of early eighteenth-century bombast. "Your disasters at sea have been so many, a man scarce knows where to begin, your ships have been taken by your enemies as the Dutch take your herrings by shoals upon your own coasts, nay your Royal navy itself has not escaped, and these two pregnant misfortunes, are big with innumerable mischiefs. Your merchants are beggared, your commerce is broke, your trade is gone, your staples and manufactures ruined, the Queen has lost her customs, the Parliament must make good the deficiencies, while in the meantime our allies have an open and flourishing trade and our enemies make use of our ships and seamen too against us." Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CLXXX. 137. The complaints are so numerous that official negligence might almost be taken for granted, did we not recall that an Englishman's grumbling is often the best sign matters are "getting on."

portunity it gave for embarrassing the ministry; whichever way the investigation might terminate, it was inevitable that there should be some reflection upon the prince, which was certain to cost the ministers a large part of the queen's favor. The immediate occasion of the move was doubtless the unfortunate loss of the most popular English admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with three valuable ships, and the disastrous attack upon the Lisbon fleet.<sup>1</sup>

In supporting the move for investigating the Admiralty, the *junto* hoped to compel Godolphin to be kinder to the Whigs and force Anne to rely more upon them. The motion started off auspiciously, since passionate reflections upon official negligence were as popular in England then as two centuries later. Wharton took occasion to call attention to the impoverished condition of England as a result of the ruinous expenditures of war. Somers supported his colleague, but spoke more particularly of the terrible mismanagement of naval affairs. Notwithstanding the efforts of the ministers and the influence of the queen's presence, the customary motion for an address of thanks to her Majesty was tabled by the joint action of Whigs and Tories, that they might first consider the state of the nation.<sup>2</sup> As soon as they began these deliberations, Wharton arose once more to present a petition of two hundred London merchants, praying for relief against privateers.<sup>3</sup>

During the war French privateers became most active, and captures were so common that no merchantman

<sup>1</sup> *Annals* (1707), pp. 240-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Timherland*, II. 180; *Burnet*, V. 343-7. Rochester, Buckingham, and Lord Guernsey were the leading Tories, who helped carry the motion. Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 29; *Luttrell*, VI. 233-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 597; *L. J.*, XVIII. 341. Similar criticisms of the Admiralty over the Russian trade were being made in the Commons. *Chamberlen*, p. 271; *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, II. 88; *Other Side*, p. 352; *C. J.*, XV. 464.

ventured out with impunity except under strict convoy. Moreover, the merchants complained that their vessels for Portugal, Virginia, and Flanders had to wait weeks and often months before the Admiralty would provide a convoy. In 1704, a corn fleet destined for Portugal was kept waiting seven months, and early in 1707, a fleet of fifty-five vessels bound for Ostend was detained five months. Furthermore, even when convoys were provided within a reasonable time, they were usually insufficient or inefficient, if they chanced to encounter a hostile French fleet. Three disasters of particular note had occurred within a year. At the moment when the union was consummated, although the council of the lord high admiral knew that the celebrated French admiral, Fourbin, was cruising off the coast, fifty-six merchantmen were allowed to sail without any information as to his whereabouts, and more than a third of the fleet fell to him as booty. A second fleet soon started for Archangel under the protection of an English squadron, but was attacked by the omnipresent Fourbin with dire consequences after the convoy had turned back to the Channel. A third and larger fleet from Portugal was soon after assailed by the same energetic commander and thirty-two merchantmen, together with three men-of-war, fell an easy prey.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt to fasten the responsibility for such deplorable conditions was embarrassing, even to the men who

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 345; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 621-5; Wyon, I. 533; *Dartmouth MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 294; Coke, III. 168; Manchester, *Court and Society*, II. 259; S. P. Dom., Anne, I. 52, 93; *L. J.*, XVIII. 364-91, 405-22. In the first year of the war, Burchett reported a serious shortage of convoys. S. P. Dom., Naval, *passim*, particularly folios 97, 135, 143, 148. Additional statements about privateering and convoys may be found in S. P. Dom., Anne, III. 99, 125; IX. 23, 60, 66. The last citation contains a petition from merchants complaining of the lack of protection against privateers. S. P. Dom., Naval, VII., gives Prince George's answer to their request.

had brought on the investigation, since Whigs as well as Tories knew it would never do to hold the prince accountable for the miscarriages, as Anne would never forgive the party leaders who disgraced her husband. Indeed, it was evident that Prince George was not to blame, as his intelligence was wholly unequal to his task. The man who stood next to him was his favorite, George Churchill, a brother of the Duke of Marlborough, and a "living wonder to mankind how the same parents could have given birth to two sons so utterly dissimilar in character,"<sup>1</sup> for he lacked all the qualifications that made Marlborough so great. The coalition decided to make Churchill the scapegoat and in that way revenge themselves upon Marlborough, Godolphin, and the queen.

The Whigs soon realized that the investigation was likely to get out of their hands, because, as their objects became attainable, they saw that the Tories were willing to go farther and drive Godolphin from office—the last thing in the world the Whigs then desired, as it would deprive them of their intercessor with the queen. They wished only to make him more complaisant, so they began to draw off from the Tories and finally refused to sanction a motion laying the blame for the mismanagement upon the ministry in general. They would go no further than to beg Anne to make sea affairs her first and most particular care. Indeed, in the face of her opposition there was a sudden change of heart on all sides, until it appeared that if there had been a "design to remove or mortify the admiralty, it had no great support, there being that division among the Whigs which I need not explain, and none of the Tories appearing to encourage any such design."<sup>2</sup> In order to save appearances, Hali-

<sup>1</sup> Wyon I. 314. See also James, III. 283-5; *Other Side*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 343; James, III. 287. For the divisions and dissensions among the Whigs, consult the *Buccleugh MSS.* (H. M. C.), II. Pt. ii. 718.

fax moved that a committee should be appointed to consider measures for the "encouragement of trade and privateers in the West Indies." Of course this was an indirect slap at the Admiralty, insinuating that it was incapable of dealing efficiently with such matters. To the surprise of both parties, and greatly to the chagrin of Churchill and Prince George, Godolphin meekly agreed to second this motion.<sup>1</sup>

The Admiralty investigation gained the Whigs nothing, and increased Anne's wrath against the junto. Marlborough's power seemed sufficient to protect his brother, but the weakness of Godolphin's position was fully as apparent as it had been in the case of the bishoprics. Although both Godolphin and the Marlboroughs had been intent for three months on displacing Harley, they had made little or no headway against him, when Providence came fortunately to their assistance.

In November, 1707, Greg, a disappointed clerk in Harley's office, was found in correspondence with France,<sup>2</sup> and suspicion at once fell upon his superior. Both Marlborough and Godolphin made as much capital as they could out of the case, and demanded Harley's dismissal,<sup>3</sup> accusing him also of intriguing against the ministry, of which he was a member. Unfortunately for their peace of mind, the evidence of Harley's guilt was not sufficient to convince Anne, and as always, she refused to part with a man whom she still considered a faithful servant.

Buckingham thought the possibility of a reconciliation of High and Low Churchmen was very good. In its third meeting, the committee upon admiralty affairs would admit only that the merchants had proved their losses. James, III. 292. See also *ib.*, III. 360. Vernon asserted, however, that Churchill's presence of mind alone kept the case about the Russian merchants from coming to a vote. Coxe Papers, XIII. 199-202.

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 600; Mahon, II. 37-8.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, IX. 61, contains the incriminating letter or a copy.

<sup>3</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 132.

However, Harley's carelessness, and the unfaithfulness of Greg and two other agents, aroused popular distrust, which perceptibly weakened his political influence, even though all three subordinates steadily insisted that he was entirely innocent of any wrongdoing.

Since August, Marlborough and Godolphin had never ceased their efforts to drive Harley from the cabinet council,<sup>1</sup> although apparently co-operating with him in administrative affairs. At last, wearied by their importunities, and alarmed at their joint threat of resignation, Anne gave way, partly because Harley insisted that she accept his resignation,<sup>2</sup> and partly on account of the serious condition of her husband's health, which was so critical as to demand the lion's share of her attention at the same moment that her own strength was rapidly failing.

However, it was generally understood that the secretary's enforced resignation did not cost him Anne's confidence, but rather tended to draw him closer to her, as she now began to look upon him as a persecuted man, who had suffered because he upheld the principles of government that were most dear to her.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, he became her private, unofficial political adviser. Acting in this capacity, unhampered by the duties of a ministerial office, he was free to organize his forces in opposition to the ministry. His dismissal compelled Godolphin to rely entirely upon the Whigs, and from this time forward, the history of his administration is a por-

<sup>1</sup> See the letters of Marlborough, Harley, and the queen in *Bath MSS.*, I. 185; Salomon, p. 14; Morrison, IV. 148. All of them were prior to the discovery of Greg's correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 213; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 47; [Defoe], *Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*, 25. Prince George probably seconded Harley's suggestion. Coxe, II. 193; Wilson, *Defoe*, III. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Conduct*, p. 213. See also Defoe's *Secret History of White Staff*; Salomon, p. 13.

tion of the history of the *junto*, who came more and more to dominate affairs as the weeks went by.<sup>1</sup> More important still, it marks the end of all serious attempts of Godolphin, as well as all future ministers,<sup>2</sup> to guide the English government by means of a composite ministry, which endeavored to stand above and between the political parties of the day. As Godolphin's venture was an attempt of this kind, it deserves more careful study than it has hitherto received, for it was really a determined effort to direct the destinies of the United Kingdom in accordance with the will of the queen and her leading ministers, whose dependence upon parliament and the people was scarcely more marked than it had been under Charles II or William III. The celebrated Whig *junto*, although moved by selfish aims, was nevertheless fighting the battle for responsible government, when its members demanded that Anne put from her a man, who, though personally most acceptable to her, refused to keep the faith with his fellow ministers.

During the year 1707, England passed from the hopes raised by the union to a despair which was accentuated by military reverses, naval miscarriages, and a struggle within the ranks of the ministry itself. In effecting the union, the influence of the queen had at all stages of the negotiations been conspicuous, but particularly so in preventing a quarrel between English and Scots after the Articles of Union had been actually signed. Anne's interest in church matters was most noticeable throughout the reign, but she showed her independence in the summer of 1707 by filling two bishoprics without the knowledge or consent of Godolphin and the Marl-

<sup>1</sup> Dartmouth stated that Godolphin was under the control of the *junto* much earlier than 1708. See Burnet, V. 179-82.

<sup>2</sup> There are a few fleeting exceptions, of course, such as the Coalition Ministry of Fox and Lord North, and the War Ministry of 1914.

boroughs. Moreover, she steadily persisted in her refusal to withdraw her nominations. Faced by an investigation of her husband's record as the head of naval affairs, Anne and her ministers had defeated the efforts of a disappointed Whig and Tory coalition, at a time when her ecclesiastical appointments had accentuated the rift in the ministry and directed the attack of the junto, Godolphin, and the Marlboroughs against Harley, who was suspected of being the queen's secret adviser. In the contest, the queen was forced to give way, although even here, she kept by her side Mrs. Masham to act as a go-between with Harley.



## CHAPTER V

### THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE MARLBOROUGHS AND GODOLPHIN (1702-1708)

IN England, of all lands, the royal favorite has ever been an object of suspicion. From the time of Piers Gaveston and the Despensers to Buckingham and Laud—yes, even to the time of Bentinck and Lord North, they have led a most precarious existence. The old saying, “Uneasy rests the head that wears a crown,” might very well be restated for England: “More uneasy still rests the head that wears the favor of the crown.”<sup>1</sup> Probably no reign in English history better illustrates this than that of the last of the Stuarts, who had many favorites. Starting with Sarah Jennings, she attached herself for a season to Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, then to Harley, and finally to Abigail Hill and the Duchess of Somerset; and of these five, three were in disgrace when her eventful reign came to its exciting close.

Of the companions of her own sex, Lady Marlborough is best known, and her influence at the beginning of the reign was unquestionably large. Her political power is usually considered the motive force in the government during the first half of the reign. It is, therefore, advisable to study her relations with the queen prior to 1709, to discover, if possible, the comparative importance of each in public affairs. We shall first notice the statements of a few typical secondary authorities as to the

<sup>1</sup> See a political letter of Defoe to Harley in *E. H. R.*, XXII, 132.

queen's subservience, and then examine the sources themselves.

Such writers as Wyon, Sismondi, Smollett, Cunningham, Lecky, Macaulay, and his grand-nephew, Trevelyan, state<sup>1</sup> emphatically that the queen was greatly under the influence of the duchess, but not one gives any satisfactory evidence for his conclusions. So it is fairer to take the statement of a writer who does cite contemporary evidence to support his assertion. In his account of Anne's reign, Leadam is very critical of the queen's ability and says that Spanheim, the Prussian ambassador, had a poor opinion of her authority and intelligence.<sup>2</sup> As Spanheim is not quoted, or any reference given, we are left in the dark as to his exact opinion. But granting full force to Leadam's interpretation of Spanheim's estimate,<sup>3</sup> two things must be considered. First, that Anne usually intrusted foreign affairs entirely to her ministers, for, realizing her limitations in diplomacy, she left all negotiations to her advisers; and, secondly, that she had an unconquerable aversion to the Hanoverians and all things German, and a sufficient impression of her dislike may have reached Spanheim to make him a prejudiced observer.

Fortunately, Leadam goes further, and refers to an observation which the duchess made to Lord Cowper.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wyon, II. 531; Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, XXVI. 328; T. Smollett, *Hist. of Eng.*, I. 415, 451; Cunningham, *Hist. of Gr. Brit.*, I. 258; Lecky, I. 33; Macaulay, p. 901; G. M. Trevelyan, *Eng. under the Stuarts*, p. 480. Other typical statements relative to the queen may be found in Belloc, *Lingard's Hist. of Eng.*, XI. 81; Reid, pp. 38-9; Thomas, p. 32; Strickland, XII. 378. The views of the German scholars are the same as the rest. Von Noorden, *Bolingbroke*, p. 105; W. Michael, *Eng. Gesch.*, I. 227-8.

<sup>2</sup> Leadam, p. 222. See also Thomson, II. 518-9.

<sup>3</sup> E. Spanheim, *Relation de la Cour d'Angleterre*. If Leadam has this source in mind, it is doubtful if he is justified in drawing any such conclusion from it. This document is printed in *E. H. R.*, II. 757-73.

<sup>4</sup> "The Queen has no original thoughts on any subject; is neither good

Her statement, when examined, is not convincing, as it sounds more like an explanation of the duchess than a criticism of the queen's intelligence or initiative, while it is not borne out by the duchess's autobiography, which may also be termed a biography of the queen. Moreover, Lady Marlborough's reflections were made soon after her disgrace, when she might be expected to feel bitter. Furthermore, it says nothing, unless by implication, about Anne's being in the hands of others. Taking his evidence at its best, Leadam fails to make out a strong case against the queen, but he does not stop at this, as he maintains that her dislikes and prejudices were personal and not political.<sup>1</sup> Granting the truth of this assertion, it says nothing derogatory to Anne's strength of character, as it might be said equally well of one of the greatest of American executives—Andrew Jackson—who was certainly never criticized for lack of will power. Indeed, out of the multitude of writers that have dealt with this period, few dissent from the currently accepted view, and but one or two at all definitely.<sup>2</sup> In most instances, secondary writers accept Macaulay's impressions of the princess, and apply them to the queen without thinking that her character might have developed with years, or under the responsibilities she encountered as ruler.

nor bad, but as put into; that she has much love and passion, while pleased for those who please; and can write pretty affected letters; but do nothing else well." Cowper, *Diary*, p. 49. Compare this with her "Opinions." "Queen Anne was religious without affectation; she always meant well; she had no false ambition; which appeared by her never complaining at King William's being preferred to the crown before her." *Remarks upon the Conduct*, p. 20. See also Atterbury's sermon before the Commons. Stackhouse, *Life of Atterbury*, p. 32.

<sup>1</sup> For a stronger statement, see Molloy, *Queen's Comrade*, I. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Burton is very discreet in his estimates. I. 28. Roscoe (*Harley*) is less severe. A. L. Cross varies slightly from the old view. *Hist. of Eng. and Greater Br.*, p. 650. W. F. Lord (*Hist. of Parties*, pp. 118-21) asserts that Anne's influence in political affairs has been much underestimated, but he deals with the latter part of the reign.

It is now necessary to examine the works of some important contemporary writers dealing with the reign, to learn their impressions of the queen. Abel Boyer was one of the most prolific of them all, but a careful examination of his *Annals* and his *Political State*, with their digest, the *History of the Reign of Anne*, reveals nothing very uncomplimentary to her intelligence or self-assertion, although his opportunities for observation were excellent.<sup>1</sup>

Several anonymous contemporaries<sup>2</sup> wrote lives of Anne, and in no instance is there reference to such a state of affairs as portrayed by Wyon, Trevelyan, and Von Noorden. Lediard, in his *Marlborough*, is another who fails to assign to her the rôle of figurehead, and at least intimates the reverse.<sup>3</sup> One of the keenest observers of affairs at court, where he assumed an important place, was Burnet, the dynamic Bishop of Salisbury. His *His-*

<sup>1</sup> It must be conceded, however, that barring the usual ceremonial form of address, nothing very favorable is said. "The Queen, though good-natured, indulgent, and easily governed by those about her, when used with obsequiousness, complaisance and becoming respect, was yet extremely jealous of her prerogative, irreconcilable to those who once treated her irreverently, and sullenly tenacious of her resolutions." Boyer, p. 471. He conceded earlier that the duchess controlled all "court favors." *Ib.*, p. 177. Here, however, he was trying to show that the concentration of so much power in the hands of the Marlboroughs had aroused the fears of the Whigs and Tories.

<sup>2</sup> *Queen Anne, Her Life and Reign* (1738); *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne* (1722); *An Impartial History of the Life and Reign of Her Late Excellent Majesty* (1738); *The Life of Queen Anne* (1742). There are no political reasons for Boyer's silence on such points in his history, published eight years after Anne's death, but under the cover of anonymity, the writers referred to above certainly were not deterred by personal reasons from telling the truth. Contemporary pamphleteers certainly made the most of Anne's intemperance.

<sup>3</sup> II. 450. One pamphleteer is plentiful in her praise. "She is possessed of a greatness of soul, not easily alarmed or disordered, as are generally others of her sex, but sedately considering affairs, and weighing their various events. Her resolution cannot be shaken by vain rumors or attempts of her enemies." W. Cockburn, *An Essay upon the Propitious and*

*tory of My Own Time* deserves careful attention, but it only says that the duchess was looked upon by violent Tories "as the person who had reconciled the Whigs to the Queen, from whom she was naturally averse."<sup>1</sup> This is not given as his personal opinion, but rather as a rumor suggestive of the spirit of the High Church Tories in 1704. Moreover, Anne was not then in sympathy with the Whigs, although she felt under obligations to them for saving her from the insolence of the Tories. Indeed, Lady Marlborough's attempts to reconcile her to the Whigs were in the main unsuccessful. Chamberlen's estimate of the duchess's influence is never put in such terms as would justify the conclusions of Leadam; Harrison remains silent as to the queen's vassalage; Coke fails to record such extreme dependence; Gibson's opinions are of the same nature, while Swift's testimony as a whole is in favor of the queen's independence.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, no contemporary goes so far as do the later students of the reign. One of the most extreme is Thomas Birch, who, in his *Biographical Anecdotes*, wrote, "As both parties in their turns were greatly disobliged and offended, I cannot recollect any praises which have been bestowed upon her for personal steadiness and wisdom." This statement loses much of its force when we remember that Dr. Birch was a rabid Dissenter, holding Anne responsible for the propaganda in favor of the Occasional Conformity Bill, which he called persecution.<sup>3</sup>

*Glorious Reign* (1710), pp. 52-3. Defoe in the *Dyet of Poland* refers to Anne as the "Great Augustus."

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 230. See also H. C. Foxcroft, *Supplement to Burnet*, pp. 153, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlen, pp. 27, sq.; C. Harrison, *An Impartial History of the Life and Reign* (1744); Coke, III. *passim*; [Gibson], *Memoirs of Queen Anne* (1729). See Swift's *Journal to Stella*, *Four Last Years of the Queen's Ministry, and Conduct of the Allies*. Bonet's view is given in Von Noorden, I. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Birch MSS., Add. MSS., 4221, f. 24. See also *Other Side*, p. 11.

While this non-conformist accused Anne of intolerance, Hearne, the zealous non-juror, insisted that she was too favorable to the Dissenters and Low Churchmen, because he thought she was under the domination of the duchess, whom he detested. Still more pointed is a memorandum in the Carte MSS.: "No sovereign was ever more governed by her favourites than she was, but like other weak princes, she strove to conceal it from the public."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, we know neither the writer nor the date of this fragment, so it lacks a great deal of being good historical evidence. It might well have been jotted down by Carte, himself a non-juror, months, perhaps years after the reign had closed, as the impressions given by some one else; since this was his habit in preparing materials for writing his history. In some respects, the most cutting criticism of Anne comes from Cardinal Gualterio, who wrote to one of his friends: "We have to deal with a Princess, weak in body and mind, with a husband less capable than herself . . . and in the hands of a faction."<sup>2</sup> The cardinal's statements are open to question, however, as he wished to encourage the Jacobites both in England and France to attempt a restoration of the old Stuart line. Voltaire was not a contemporary, and gained his ideas from the satellites of the Hanoverian Court, but even he goes little farther than to say that Anne was a "woman of but very middling talents."<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to note that before the reign had really begun, the Earl of Chesterfield expressed the hope that if Queen Anne "would have no favourites, but choose a

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXV. 100. These seem to be some notes upon Swift's *Change of Ministry*. John Ker of Kersland, a Jacobite, spoke of her "mean capacity." *Memoirs of Ker of Kersland*, II. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Gualterio Papers, Add. MSS., 20242, ff. 128-9. Lord Haversham, who hated the duchess, spoke of her as a "she favourite," in his speech of Feb. 15, 1707.

<sup>3</sup> *Age of Louis XIV*, II. 226.

wise council and rely upon a Parliament, she might have so glorious a reign as to eclipse that of Queen Elizabeth; but the event of all things depends on fate, or rather providence.”<sup>1</sup> This fragment is not conclusive, since it says nothing about what actually did occur.

Fortunately, in solving this perplexing problem, the testimony of Lady Marlborough is available in full, complete form, corroborated by numerous letters. The *Conduct* was written long after Anne had disgraced the duchess, so it would not be unduly favorable to the queen. Though subject, of course, to the vagaries of the human memory, time had nevertheless softened down much of the rancor felt by the duchess in 1712, when her caustic “Opinions” were penned. This autobiography, therefore, contains a good statement of the relations existing between queen and favorites.

An easy method of testing the influence of Lady Marlborough is to ascertain the part she played in appointments. After conceding, as a matter of general report, that she was practical dictator in state affairs, the duchess said that the choice of Anne’s first ministry “was against my wishes and inclinations,” and she strenuously objected to the queen’s “throwing herself almost entirely into the hands of the Tories.”<sup>2</sup> She speaks repeatedly of the difficulties she encountered in attempting to bring Whigs into the ministry. “I resolved therefore, from the very beginning of the Queen’s reign,” she said, “to try whether I could not by degrees, make impression on her mind more favourable to the Whigs; and though my instances with her had not at first any considerable

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 1. A letter to Robert Walpole on this topic is found in the *Coxe Papers*, XV. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 122. Cf. *Cooke*, II. 577. L’Hermitage disapproved of all the leading ministers except Godolphin and Marlborough, *Rijks Archief*, 26A, 5 May, 1702.

effect, I believe, I may venture to say, it was, in some measure owing to them, that her ministry, did, against her inclinations, contain several of this party.'"<sup>1</sup> It must, then, have been an arduous task to convince Anne that the Whigs were suitable agents for carrying out her wishes, as she felt that all Whigs must be at heart republicans, whose main purpose was to limit the prerogative of the crown, and endanger the privileges of the church.<sup>2</sup> She well knew the humiliations to which they had subjected William, and she wished to avoid a similar experience. Moreover, the Whig leaders had been conspicuously against Anne during her quarrels with Queen Mary, and she was never able to endure some of them for that reason, if for no other.<sup>3</sup>

Anne's struggle with the king and queen had brought her very close to the Marlboroughs. After the deaths of Talmash and William, Marlborough remained the only efficient general in England. Thus to add weight to the factor of friendship, was the crying demand for a capable man to wage war against France, which Anne could meet successfully only by appointing him captain general.

In the political arena, the situation was peculiar. Marlborough was a moderate Tory, so far as he could be said to hold any political affiliations at all. In times past, his wife had been more of a Tory than he, but the marriage of her daughter to Sunderland's heir had brought her conversion to the Whigs as early as 1702. Prince George was probably of the same persuasion as Lady Marl-

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 126. See also Salomon, p. 12. A letter written by Anne to the duchess shows that she was not convinced by Lady Marlborough's reasoning. Molloy, *Queen's Comrade*, I. 297. Mrs. Thomson believed that Anne refused to listen to the duchess's suggestions. *Memoirs*, I. 324. See also *Other Side*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53; Macaulay, *Essay on Addison*.

<sup>3</sup> *Remarks upon the . . . Conduct*, pp. 41-3; *Review of a late Treatise*, p. 7.



borough, whereas Anne was a High Church Tory. Godolphin, like Marlborough, stood between the duchess and the queen in a political way, while all four of them, save possibly the duchess, wished to be above and between political parties,<sup>1</sup> without being accountable to either of them.

Before the new reign was well begun, it was manifest that Mrs. Freeman and her "dear Mrs. Morley" were not entirely of one accord in their political ideas. As soon as the ministry was decided upon, the former began her attempt to convert the queen to the Whigs, and to bring her son-in-law into Anne's good graces, in order to increase the influence of her family in the government. Her own confessions, as well as Anne's letters, show how difficult was the task.

Four days after meeting her first parliament, Anne wrote a letter, which explains the political ideas of both women: "I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs. Freeman's, that I am blest with yesterday, that she liked *my speech*, but I cannot help being extremely concerned, you are so partial to the Whigs, because I would not have [us] . . . differ in opinion in the least thing. What I said when I writ last upon this subject does not proceed from any insinuations of the other party; but I know the principles of the Church, and I know those of the Whigs, and it is that, and no other reason, which makes me think as I do of the last. And . . . upon my word . . . you are mightily mistaken in your nature of a true Whig. For the character you give them, does not in the least belong to them, but to the Church. But I will say no more on the subject, only beg for my poor sake, that you

<sup>1</sup> Morrison, I. 24. Rijks Archief (26A) gives L'Hermitage's idea of Marlborough's position as stated above. Ryan thought Anne wished to form a third party, which the duchess's enemies dubbed the "Zarazavians." See, however, Mrs. Manley's *Zarah and the Zarazavians*.

would not show more countenance to those you seem to have so much inclination for, than to the Church party.”<sup>1</sup>

Anne was thus convinced neither of the virtues of the Whigs nor of the validity of Sarah’s arguments in their favor, and urged her favorite to get in touch with the Tories. “I am firmly persuaded that, notwithstanding, her extraordinary affection for me,” wrote the duchess some years later, “and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years shown for her service, they would not have so great a share of her favor and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories.”<sup>2</sup> There are also some signs of the rift between the friends, which was finally to embitter the lives of both. Whether the beginning of their trouble lay in the behavior of Lady Marlborough at Gloucester’s death, as is believed by some, or in the episode of the gloves, which is exploited by Miss Strickland and distorted by Voltaire, or in some totally different incident, is of little consequence, as striking differences of opinion already existed.

However, the queen’s real emotions were not then visible to Lady Marlborough, for Anne was an artist in dissembling her feelings. This has not usually been understood, despite the testimony of Dean Swift that “there was not, perhaps in all England, a person who understood more artificially [how] to disguise her passions.”<sup>3</sup> So, perfectly oblivious of the fact that her power was gradually slipping away, the duchess persevered in trying to convert her royal mistress to the policies of the Whigs. After a time, she realized that

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 128. See also Swift’s *Sentiments of a Church of England Man*; *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 124-5; Burton, I. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Swift, *Queen’s Last Ministry*; Swift’s Works (Scott ed.), III. 325. See also Berry, *Social Life of France and England*, I. 225; Torrens, *Hist. of Cabinets*, pp. 46-7; Von Noorden, I. 202; *Priv. Cor.*, II. 458.

her ministrations were ineffective but she could not understand why, and continued her attempts to turn Anne away from the Tories, who unwittingly were playing into Lady Marlborough's hands through their insistence upon the Occasional Conformity Bill. Even then, the queen refused assent to her favorite's views of the Tories. "I have the same opinion of Whig and Tory I ever had," she wrote, "I know both their principles very well, and when I know myself to be in the right, nothing can alter mine. It is very certain there are good and ill people of both sorts, and I can see all the faults of one as well as of the other, and I am not deluded by anyone's calling themselves of the Church, for God knows there are too many that talk of religion that have no true sense of it, but because there are some hot headed men among those that are called Tories, I can't for my life think it reasonable to brand all of them with the name of Jacobite, when without doubt there are many of them that will be as much for the liberty of their religion and country as any who would have none thought so but themselves."<sup>1</sup>

The queen was now willing to listen to criticisms of the Tories, but insisted that the party should not be condemned for the deeds of the few. Not only Anne's resentment over the "tack" but also her attitude towards the union threw her into opposition to the Tories. She suspected some of them but she was not thoroughly convinced of their double-dealing until they sought to embarrass her by the "invitation." "She had been present at the debates in the . . . Lords upon the subject, and had heard . . . Buckingham treat her with great disrespect," records the duchess. "Such rude treatment from the Tories, and the zeal and success of the Whigs in opposing the motion so extremely disagreeable to her, occasioned her change of mind." Lady Marlborough herself thus

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 51. See also *Conduct*, p. 137; *Salomon*, p. 12.

confessed that Anne changed her attitude towards the Tories, not because of her friends' arguments, but solely on account of the Tories' insulting behavior. Personal feelings, then, not political philosophy, governed the queen's decision to abandon the Highfliers.

Anne soon authorized "Godolphin to give the utmost assurances to the chief men of the Whigs, that she would place herself and her affairs into such hands as they should approve."<sup>1</sup> Yet this promise was not kept immediately. She dismissed the obnoxious leaders one by one, and not until after the election of 1705 did she deem it advisable to allow the Whigs important seats in the council. Meanwhile the duchess began to fear lest Anne should become too independent in her political policies and show too much favor to the Tories.<sup>2</sup> Even Cowper, a moderate Whig, was accepted only after considerable delay and consideration. For a season the most earnest entreaties of Lady Marlborough availed nothing, although Anne finally did agree to take the great seal away from Wright and appoint Cowper, whose political ideas she disliked. The queen's letter to Godolphin well illustrates the methods and influence of Godolphin and the Marlboroughs over her appointments. "Your telling me yesterday that when you weare at London, you would consider to whom it would be proper to give the Great Seale, is the occasion of my giveing you this trouble at this time, for I think it is all ways best to tell one's thoughts freely before one takes a final resolution of this nature, and therefore I cannot help saying I wish very much that there may be a moderate Tory found for this employment, for I must own to you I dread the falling into the hands of either party, and the Whigs have had so many fayvours shewed them of late that I fear a very

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>2</sup> See the duke's letter to his wife, August, 1705, Colville, p. 149.

few more will putt me insensibly into their power, which I'me sure you would not have happen no more then I."

Apparently the queen had talked the case over with the duchess and found that she favored the Whigs. At any rate, Anne continued: "I know my dear unkind Mrs. Freeman has so good an opinion of all that party that to be sure she will use all her endeavours to get you to prevaile with me to put one of them into this great post, and I cannot help being apprehensive that not only she but others may be desirous to have one of the heads of them in possession of the Seale, but I hope in God you will never think that reasonable for that would be an unexpressible uneasyness and mortification to me; there is no body I can rely on but yourself to bring me out of all my difficulties, and I do put an intire confidence in you, not doubting but you will do all you can to keep me out of the power of the merciless men of both partys, and to the end make choice of one for Lord Keeper that will be the likeliest to prevent that danger."<sup>1</sup>

In such words Anne clearly indicated that she took an intelligent and important part in deciding who should hold offices under the crown. It points also to the fact that she knew her favorite's ideas on the subject but had no desire to follow them, and warned the lord treasurer against being unduly influenced by her arguments. Most important of all, it expresses her great desire to govern without the aid of any party. In spite of this letter, Cowper was appointed, and from that it would seem that the duchess's candidate did prevail, for Cowper was not the favored applicant of Godolphin or the queen, but this conclusion does not necessarily follow, as Harley was also enthusiastically supporting Cowper.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godolphin-Osborne Papers, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 64; Burnet, V. 225. Godolphin is said to have told Dartmouth that Cowper was not to his liking. No ministerial appointment

Shortly after this appointment, the queen decided to grant the Whigs more representation in her councils. "I believe, dear Mrs. Freeman," she wrote, "we shall not disagree as we have formerly done. I am sensible of the service those people have done me of whom you have a good opinion, and will countenance them. And I am thus thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of others you have always been speaking against."<sup>1</sup> Anne intended not only to show favor to the Whigs, but also to flatter the duchess into believing that it was her influence that had caused this change of mind, which in truth was due to the ingratitude of the Tories. The queen's friendly attitude to the Whigs did not last long, and she soon began to manifest signs of discontent at the arrogance of the junto when they tried to force Sunderland into the ministry.

The struggle of the junto to gain entrance to the queen's inner councils is thus very important in determining the part played by the duchess in filling important places, since the secretary of state was one of the most influential officers in the cabinet. Upon Nottingham's resignation, Hedges was for a few weeks sole secretary. When Harley succeeded Nottingham, he remained as

of this half of the reign aroused so much comment as that of Cowper. Hearne (I. 60) has several reflections on his appointment, among them a poem of advice to the queen, one stanza of which runs:

"One Cooper to your Uncle was untrue,  
Another, Anna, may be so to you;  
Can he thy honour and thy conscience keep  
Unspotted, when his own is fast asleep?  
Let Cullon witness this, whose wretched Ghosts  
Proclaims this—*She who trusts to him is lost.*"

See also *ib.*, I. 53, 56, 178; Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 27-8. Rawlinson MSS. (Bodl.), D. 89<sup>B</sup>, also touches on this appointment.

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 159. See also Wyon, I. 385. It is possible that as late as May 30, 1705, Anne kept up negotiations with Rochester and Nottingham. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 190; *Conduct*, pp. 154-5.

Harley's colleague in the secretariat. Hedges was a Tory of moderate principles, but was particularly obnoxious to the duchess, who thought that since his appointment had been originally secured by Rochester,<sup>1</sup> the earl still retained his dominion over him. So, although his administration of affairs was relatively efficient, Lady Marlborough wished his place for Sunderland.

In selecting ministers Anne's motives were fundamentally personal. After a time her objections of a political nature might be overcome, as in the case of Cowper, but when her personal aversion was joined to political disapproval, the difficulty of gaining her consent was immeasurably greater. Anne disliked Sunderland. He was rash, outspoken, prided himself on his republicanism, and had dared to vote against Prince George's pension. Moreover, he was a Whig, and worse still, a leading member of the group that directed that party. Finally, he belonged to the powerful Marlborough family, and his appointment would add still more to its influence, and noticeably increase the envy with which that self-seeking family was regarded, not only by politicians, but by the masses.<sup>2</sup>

As Marlborough's son-in-law, and the favorite of the duchess, the junto sought to use him to gain a foothold in the council, and served notice upon Godolphin that Sunderland must immediately be admitted to the ministry.<sup>3</sup> All of the treasurer's energies were now directed towards that end. Notwithstanding Anne's earlier assurances, he had session after session with her, but with little result. When she was at last shown that she must choose between putting herself again into the hands of

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay, p. 2724; Birch Papers, Add. MSS., 4223, f. 302.

<sup>3</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 164-7. Some of the Whigs probably distrusted Sunderland. See *Remarks upon the . . . Conduct*, p. 48.

the fanatical Highfliers, or give Sunderland a place, she temporized. Both Marlborough and Godolphin felt her displeasure, as is shown in the duke's letter to his wife: "And hence the resolution is taken to vex and ruin 91 [Godolphin] because 83 [Anne] has not complied with what was desired for 117 [Sunderland], I shall henceforward despise all mankind, and I think there is no such thing as virtue, for I know with what zeal 91 has pressed 83 in the matter. I do pity him, and shall always love him as long as I live; and never be a friend to any that can be his enemy. I have writ my mind freely to 83 on this occasion, so that whatever happens, I shall have a quiet mind."<sup>1</sup>

Anne remained obdurate, but intimated in a letter that she would give Sunderland a place when one became vacant; to this the Whigs were much averse, because it served to delay their plans. To Anne's letter, Godolphin replied by an even longer one, but she stood firm for some time, and then promised to admit Sunderland to the council without a portfolio,<sup>2</sup> and grant him a pension. Although she had already sent him as her special representative to Vienna,<sup>3</sup> these promises were unsatisfactory and failed to mollify him or his fellows, and it looked as though the junto would, by their repeated threats, compel Godolphin to resign. In all this Harley seems to have taken an important although quiet part, and after the lord treasurer was worn out by the demands of the Whig leaders, it fell to him to attempt to propitiate them.<sup>4</sup> His success seems to have been at most but temporary, as the

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 164. This message shows clearly that early in the reign Godolphin began to lose his power over Anne.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XLI. 23; Morrison, I. 24, 50 (2d Series). This last long letter reads very much like the scheme of a shrewd politician.

<sup>3</sup> Birch Papers, Add. MSS., 4223, f. 302; Luttrell, V. 560, 566.

<sup>4</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 74.



junto, particularly Sunderland and Wharton, were impatient to enjoy places in the ministry.

To the efforts of Godolphin and Harley, Marlborough at first gave a tardy and reluctant acquiescence, and then actively championed Sunderland's cause, after he had been given some assurance that the young nobleman would exercise more prudence for the future than he had ever exhibited in the past.<sup>1</sup> The duke's letters were as fruitless as had been the efforts of Godolphin.<sup>2</sup> Anne's first excuse was that she had no sufficient reason to dismiss Hedges, whose work had always been to her liking, but she did not hesitate to say that she had political and personal objections to Sunderland. "I must own freely to you," she replied to Godolphin, "that I am of the opinion making a party man secretary of state when there are so many of their friends in employment of all kinds already, is throwing myself into the hands of a party which is a thing I have been desirous to avoid & what I have heard both the Duke of Marlborough and you say I must never do."<sup>3</sup> Towards the close she voiced a most natural fear that she would be unable to get along with the impetuous earl.

Anne's reply was unanswerable, as both Marlborough and Godolphin realized. However, they had to do something, since the junto refused to aid them in the next session unless Sunderland was given both a portfolio and a seat in the council. As a result, Godolphin, after beg-

<sup>1</sup> "I did in a former letter beg her Majesty's favor for Lord Sunderland, and I should be obliged to you in making it easy, as well as putting the Queen in mind of bringing him into her service. I am well assured of his zeal and that he will behave as he ought to do." Marlborough to Godolphin, Coxe Papers, XIX. 206. Coxe thought that Marlborough was intermediary between Anne and Harley, as well as between Anne and the Whigs. Coxe, ch. 51. See also Strickland, XII. 137; Thomas, pp. 246-8.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XVIII. 106-7; *ib.*, XX. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Morrison, I. 24. This letter exhibits Anne's political sagacity. It is frank, pointed, and attacks all the weak points in Godolphin's demands.

ging Marlborough to hasten back to England, did his best to answer the queen. "That this will throw you into the hands of a party, I beg your Majesty's leave to be a little larger upon this head," he wrote, "because I take it to be the main point, and because I am also very clearly of opinion that this is the surest if not the only way to keep you from falling into the hands of a party, which you seem so much to dread."<sup>1</sup> His arguments were futile, and the struggle went on.

In their despair, the junto once more called Harley into consultation. Sunderland, in particular, could endure no more, and he angrily called attention to these conferences with Harley and Godolphin, when the junto resolved that what the latter had promised "must be done, or they and 202 [Godolphin] must have nothing more to do together about business, and we must let all our friends know just how the matter stands between us and 202, whatever is the consequence of it."<sup>2</sup> Still results did not come, as Anne seemed in no hurry to admit Sunderland to the ministry. Marlborough returned home after his victory at Ramillies, and tactfully added his appeals to those of his wife and Godolphin. At last, Anne was borne down with constant importunities which were probably seconded in secret as well as in public by Harley, who concluded that the future held more for him with the Whigs in control than if the Tory zealots came back into power. The queen realized, as well, that only a united ministry could bring about the union with Scot-

<sup>1</sup> Morrison (2d Series), I. 51. See also Coxe Papers, XX. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XLI. 55-6. This letter sheds light upon the temperament of Sunderland, who had relied upon the influence of the duchess. *Ib.*, 13. Earlier than this the duchess had made such a threat to Anne. "When they [the Whigs] are forced to leave your service you will then indeed find yourself in the hand of a violent party who I am sure will have very little mercy or even humanity for you." *Conduct*, p. 164. Harley's part in the affair rests upon the proper deciphering of this letter.

land, and she capitulated, but only upon the express condition that Sunderland should resign, if his actions failed to please her. Without such a proviso to save her pride, she would probably never have yielded.<sup>1</sup>

After more than a year's siege, the junto won their victory over Anne, who had sought to stand above all factions. Nevertheless, their assiduity would probably have failed even with Sunderland's promises of good behavior, had it not been for Marlborough's great personal influence after Ramillies, and the need of the junto's aid in carrying the union. Even then there was little graciousness in her surrender, as the tender heart of Godolphin bears witness. "You chide me," he wrote the duchess, "for being touched with the condition in which I saw the Queen. You would have been so, too, if you had seen the same sight as I did; but what troubles me most in the affair is, that one can't find any way of making . . . [her] sensible of 83's [her] mistake, for I am sure she thinks 83 entirely in the right."<sup>2</sup> He was quite correct, Anne never forgot nor forgave this humiliation.

In addition to displaying the slender hold Godolphin had on power, this contest indicates that Marlborough was not secure either in his position with the queen or in his relations with the junto. No one, save Marlborough and Harley, was more aware of how reluctantly Anne allied herself with the Whigs than was St. John. "I should be glad," he wrote, "to know what temper you found the gentlemen in, whether they will think it reason-

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 42; *Stepney Papers*, Add. MSS., 7075, f. 71, 7058, f. 78; *Bath MSS.*, I. 132; *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, VIII. 101, 120A; *Hanover Papers*, *Stowe MSS.*, 222, f. 481. Some attribute to Mrs. Burnet considerable responsibility for Sunderland's appointment. Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 431. Notwithstanding Anne's assurances to Godolphin, "It was not until after much solicitation that her Majesty could be prevailed upon so far to oblige the Whigs." The duchess in *Conduct*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 66.

able to support the Queen who has nothing to ask but what we are undone if we do not grant; and who, if she does make use of hands they do not like, has been forced to it by the indiscretion of our friends. The real foundation of difference between the two parties is removed, and she seems to throw herself on the gentlemen of England, who had much better have her at the head of 'em than any ringleaders of fashion. Unless gentlemen can show that her administration puts the Church or State in danger, they must own the contest to be about persons; and if it be so can any honest man hesitate which side to take.'"<sup>1</sup>

The absence of all reference to the duchess is significant, and coupled with the other letters just examined, would tend to make one suspect that the latter's influence upon general political affairs even up to 1706 was less vital than has been supposed. Throughout the reign, the queen never lost her spirit of favoritism toward the Tories, even when they ceased to support her. As a matter of fact, Anne's tardy acquiescence in carrying out the wishes of the Marlboroughs widened the gulf between herself and Mrs. Freeman.

Some writers, who emphasize the political importance of the favorite, insist that she practically dictated the selection of court officials. In the case of the first ministry, we have found this untrue, according to her own confession, as well as that of others,<sup>2</sup> while political necessity was perhaps as largely responsible for the appointment of Cowper and Sunderland as was the influence of the duchess. The latter is also charged with being responsible for the appointment of practically all officials of the royal household. To this, she enters an emphatic denial,

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Smollett, *Hist. of Eng.*, I. 415, 451; Boyer, p. 177; *Quart. Rev.*, LXIV. 253; Macpherson, I. 636, 92; Coxe Papers, XIII. 151; Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, f. 241.

saying that except for the pages of the backstairs, the other places in the gift of the mistress of the robes consisted of "waiters, cofferbearers . . . starchers and sempstress."<sup>1</sup> Such certainly were not positions of consequence, and she could not build up her political power by such appointments. Unless it can be shown that she controlled more valuable places, it would be incorrect to assign much importance to this phase of her activity. As no claim has been more often made to show that the duchess had Anne completely in her power, it is essential to ascertain what evidence exists to support such a contention. Miss Strickland cites several references in the Coxe Papers, but all her examples relate to menials, whom the duchess conceded that she placed in office. We should naturally expect her as groom of the stole to select her lowly subordinates, since others had done so before her, and no doubt her successors continued to do so after her.

Nothing except her Jacobite leanings, and her inveterate hostility to the duchess could have caused Miss Strickland to sneer at the latter's part in reforming the custom of selling places at court, as it seems illogical to assume that she had everything to do with the patronage and nothing at all to do with such an important regulation concerning it. If her influence in selecting crown servants were half so great as is usually believed, she could readily have convinced Anne that such a reform was unnecessary, or at least undesirable. As a matter

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 310. Miss Strickland (XII. 69) insists that "Sarah reigned supremely over the formation of the newly formed household, disposing of all places. . . . From the mighty Dutch magnate, Portland, down to the humble clear starcher, Abrahah, Sarah . . . placed and displaced whomever she thought fit." Miss Strickland says this depends upon a statement of the duchess found in the Coxe Papers, but she fails to give the volume, and an examination of these manuscripts failed to reveal it. Cf. Sismondi, *Hist. Français*, XXVI. 329; *Other Side*, p. 260.

of fact, the duchess was never guilty of open corruption, even in this mild form, consequently she could have had no personal reasons for opposing reform. Besides, her ideas as to court appointments were anything but selfish. "If I had power to dispose of places," she wrote in confidence to Godolphin at the beginning of the reign, "the first rule should be, to have those that were proper for business; the next, those that had deserved upon occasion; and whenever there was room without hurting the public, I think one would, with pleasure, give employments to those who were in so unhappy a condition as to want them."<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the available evidence fails to connect the duchess with the reform at all. Burnet tells us of the issuance of the ordinance<sup>2</sup> through Anne's declaration in the Privy Council. It is improbable that he would have consciously left out any reference to the part played by the duchess, as he was an intimate friend of the Marlboroughs, and his book was examined by the duchess before its publication.<sup>3</sup>

If a list of the men and women holding important offices in 1702 be examined, the complaint of the duchess that the new ministry was not to her liking will be found to hold true as well for the second-rate offices about the court.<sup>4</sup> The Duke of Devonshire, Earl of Jersey, Earl of Rochester, Earl of Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, and Sir John Gower were not friends of the Marlboroughs, yet they were appointed to office along with

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XXIII. 12. See also Coxe Papers, XLVI. 2; *Conduct*, p. 301; cf. Thomson, I. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, V. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Foxcroft, *Supplement to Burnet*, XXVII; Ranke, *Eng. Hist.*, VI. 75. Stebbing (*Genealog. Hist.*, p. 768) is silent as to any part the duchess may have taken in this reform, as is Coke (III. 136), who, like the Duke of Buckingham, thought the regulation was inoperative.

<sup>4</sup> For these names, see *Anglicæ Notitia* (1702); Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, ff. 117-23, 208-9, f. 88; *ib.*, 7079, f. 88; P. C. Reg., LXXIX. 106.

Godolphin. Devonshire was a Whig, it is true, but Jersey and Gower were at least zealous Highfliers, if not secret Jacobites. Moreover, such men were much to Anne's liking and she was willing to take their professions of loyalty to the church at their face value, until their actions proved them to be selfish, ambitious, and totally unworthy of favor. Then, however, she was placed in the greatest of quandaries, for she liked the Whigs little more than she did the Tories, who had refused to do her bidding.

Whereas the evidence in favor of the duchess's influence seems inconclusive, from various sources we learn that others had much to do in appointing to desirable offices. While secretary, Nottingham was active in promoting the interests of his followers. Yet he conceded that there were insurmountable obstacles in his way, the chief of which was the queen, who always interested herself in political appointments.

Closely connected with the disposal of offices at court is the question of rewarding loyal political supporters with peerages, or promotions within the peerage. The duchess was accused of dictating Anne's selection of peers, but in this instance, the case of her accusers breaks down entirely. Her husband was created a duke, not only without her solicitation, but contrary to her best judgment.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as soon as she heard of the queen's intentions, she wrote posthaste to her spouse, advising him to decline the honor. This suggestion Marlborough acted upon some time later, but the "solicitations of the Queen and the importunities of Godolphin, as well as the representations of the Pensionary Heinsius, at length vanquished the reluctance of the Countess."<sup>2</sup> Godolphin

<sup>1</sup> Marlborough's letter is printed in Reid, p. 112. See also *Conduct*, pp. 302-3; Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, X. 230-1.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, I. 102; Reid, p. 112.

interviewed Anne in the duchess's behalf, but Queen Anne was determined to have her way, and the lord treasurer was advised to prepare the duchess for the inevitable. "I hope you will give me leave, as soon as he comes, to make him a duke," wrote the queen ten days later. "I know my dear Mrs. Freeman does not care for anything of the kind, nor am I satisfied with it, because it does not enough express the value I have for Mr. Freeman, nor anything ever can how passionately I am yours." Such words are rather conclusive on this point, despite the superabundant assertions of friendship. Moreover, the duchess insisted that she never desired, much less asked for her husband that honor, which Anne granted in so special a manner.<sup>2</sup>

Although the duchess did not contribute to the duke's promotion, she may have been active in forwarding the cause of others. Buckingham's promotion was certainly due to his zeal for the church and to his early friendship for Anne. Somewhat later, the queen created five peers in a group, four of them Tories of one mind with herself, and John Hervey, a Whig friend of the duchess. While denying all connection with the other creations, the duchess takes the entire credit for securing Hervey's peerage. She was in the country when she heard that Anne had decided to create four peers. At once she wrote Marlborough and Godolphin that if they did not endeavor to "get Mr. Hervey made a peer, [she] neither would nor could show [her] face any more. . . . The thing was done purely at my request."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Morrison (2d Series), II. 39; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7074, ff. 252-3; Reid, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 297-8. Hervey gives the duchess all the credit. *Diary*, pp. 1-38. Burnet says he was made a peer "by private favour," but the *Parliamentary History* (VI. 149) is more explicit. Some might assert that the Marlboroughs influenced all these creations, but if it is remembered that



If the duchess were such a political force as has been supposed, it is strange that she should have been kept in ignorance of the queen's intentions until the last moment. Stranger still is it, that instead of writing directly to Anne to grant this personal favor, she should ask her husband and the lord treasurer to use their influence in her behalf. Strangest of all, is the intimation that her pleas might not succeed. This letter creates a strong presumption that her influence was not excessively great in appointments, even when she thought it was; at least it appears so as far as she had to do with the peerage, even when creations were made for political purposes.<sup>1</sup>

In two other creations, the Marlboroughs probably took some interest, although there is no certainty that their influence was decisive. Godolphin's peerage was due probably as much to Anne's friendship, as to the wishes of the duchess. In 1703, Lady Mary, daughter of the duchess, was married to Viscount Monthermer, son of the Earl of Montagu, who soon after was honored with a dukedom. The natural inference is that Marlborough and his wife promoted his claim. Yet it must be remembered that the former was never on good terms with Montagu or his son, and that there never was any love lost between Lady Monthermer and her imperious mother. Before passing final judgment on Montagu's promotion, it is well to bear in mind that Rutland became a duke at the same time, and believed that his elevation was due to Nottingham; furthermore, Seymour was also very active in political affairs and his son was among those honored.<sup>2</sup>

the duchess was becoming more and more favorable towards the Whigs, this view is untenable. *Life of the Duchess*, p. 42.

<sup>1</sup> The aim of these creations was to change the Whig House of Lords to Tory, whereas Sarah was continually importuning Anne to turn Whig.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 413, 419; Macpherson, I. 635.

At the beginning of the reign, the duchess's influence was thought by many office seekers to be of value. Hamilton solicited her aid in Scottish affairs, in which she might have been of real help, because here she was in close sympathy with Anne.<sup>1</sup> A year later, however, the duchess openly confessed to Sunderland that she was unable to further the interests of a mutual friend, although she had spoken to Anne and Godolphin "for him with as much earnestness as if he had been my friend . . . this twenty year."<sup>2</sup> In fact, in such cases, the duchess was so exceedingly troublesome that the ministers, especially Godolphin, were glad when she ceased to meddle in affairs of this kind.<sup>3</sup>

Though the duchess's importance may have been small in creating peers and selecting ministers and minor government officials, it is possible that she may have had more to do in determining the personnel of the bench and returning officers. Cowper noted, however, that Anne displayed a most exasperating interest in choosing English and Irish judges, while she took delight in pricking the sheriffs, and writing in the names of those she preferred when the candidates presented failed to meet her approval.<sup>4</sup> Anne had heard that the mayor of Dover ordered bells rung in joy when he learned that Prince George was to lay down his post in the Admiralty. She wrote Godolphin that if this report were true, "I cannot think he is a fit person to succeed Mr. Herbert or anybody

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), p. 142; *Other Side*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34518, f. 64; Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS., 32679, f. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, II. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary*, January 5, 1705; Strickland, XII. 134; *S. P. Dom.*, Sec. Letter Book, CIV. 46; *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, IX. 1. In another instance Anne asked for more information about the candidates before she signed the warrants; at another time she criticized the methods used to secure sheriffs, and wished the lord keeper to impose this extra duty upon the judges on circuit. Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28890, f. 377; *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, II. 1.

else.’” One would scarcely conclude from this that Anne’s appointments were usually made at the suggestion of the duchess or anyone else, unless the men were personally acceptable to her. A similar spirit is also indicated concerning the independent attitude of some of the prince’s servants. “I will be sure to speak to the Prince to command all his servants to do their duty,” she wrote to Lady Marlborough. “If they do not obey him, I am sure they do not deserve to be any longer so, and I shall use my endeavours that they may not; but I hope they will not be such *villians*; and if they do what they ought, I am certain it will be none of the Prince’s *falt*.”<sup>2</sup> Anne’s reply indicates that the duchess’s letter was in the nature of a complaint, rather than a request that the prince’s servants be changed, but in common with the other instances cited, it fails to prove that the duchess’s word in civil appointments was decisive even in the early years of the reign.

Peerages, court places, and pensions do not seem to have been to any considerable extent under the duchess’s control. What was her importance with reference to ecclesiastical appointments? The queen was pious, almost to the point of superstition; Lady Marlborough was practical minded and accused by her enemies of atheism. So, naturally, there would be little sympathy between them in matters dealing with liturgy and church administration. Anne seized every available opportunity to increase her influence in ecclesiastical affairs, and steadily refused to yield any part of her power to Cowper, even at the request of the duchess, whom she quietly snubbed when the latter persisted in advocating Cowper’s

<sup>1</sup> Mahon, p. 538.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XLV. f. 147. In the summer of 1706, two of the prince’s grooms of the bedchamber were dismissed, partly on account of their opposition to the court. Samuel Masham succeeded one of them. *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 53.

right to certain advowsons. Lady Marlborough had little influence over the higher clergy, save possibly Burnet, who was unpopular with the queen. The duchess's part in bringing about the defeat of the High-fliers was probably direct, but she succeeded in her aims only because Anne was convinced in her own mind that the duchess was right. When the queen was morally certain of her ground, as in the case of the two bishoprics, the combined influence of the Marlboroughs and Godolphin was insufficient to change her plans.

Such a cursory view of the duchess's influence upon domestic affairs does not bear out the contention that Anne was completely dominated by her in such matters. If she was supreme, as was said, why did she permit Rochester, the duke's rival, to be made lord lieutenant of Ireland? Was it magnanimity, or lack of power? Why was it necessary for her to wait more than two years, before her protégé, Sunderland, was taken into the cabinet council? Was this due to her patience or to her weakness? Last of all, why was it possible for Harley to remain in the ministry for months after the duchess, supported by her husband and Godolphin, had demanded that he be disgraced? Was this due to a friendly sympathy for Anne, or to her limited political power? Whatever may have been the part played by the duchess in the political arena, the queen's financial affairs were entirely under her control, much to the advantage of both women, for Anne was careless of her money, whereas Sarah was penurious and grasping. As a result, Mrs. Morley was kept upon an allowance, which left her frequently in embarrassing circumstances, and must have helped to increase her discontent with the favorite.<sup>1</sup>

In the struggle between the Whigs and Tories to bring over the Electress Sophia, the influence of the duchess

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 32679, f. 17; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 126-7, 267-8.

was not predominant, and she confessed her inability to do anything with Anne on this important issue, much as she must have desired to stand well with both the queen and the next heir to the throne. It is still more perplexing to understand, even if we boldly assume that she had been responsible for whipping the Whigs into line, why, after rendering such valuable services to a most grateful mistress, she could not easily have gained the queen's consent to her son-in-law's promotion, which she had been urging so long.<sup>1</sup>

Not only in the domain of political affairs, then, does the power of the duchess seem to vanish, but in diplomatic affairs as well. Her part in settling the question of the succession was slight, while her share in the negotiations leading up to the union does not seem particularly significant. From the year 1703 onwards, her name seems to disappear from the correspondence connected with both Edinburgh and Westminster.

Gradually, very gradually, it dawned upon the duchess that her influence was diminishing, and when the news of the secret marriage of Abigail leaked out, much to the discomfiture of both Anne and the waiting woman, her suspicions were aroused and an investigation convinced her that Abigail had wormed herself into the queen's confidence—a state of affairs due largely to the negligence of the duchess and the lord treasurer. With Godolphin at the helm of state and her husband leading a victorious army, the duchess thought herself firmly ensconced at court. So confident was she of her power, that she absented herself for long intervals from Anne's side, while superintending the building of Blenheim and quarreling with Vanbrugh, the architect. She even dared lecture Anne continually about her fondness for the Tories who were working so persistently against her.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks in *Life of the Duchess*, pp. 30-2, and *Conduct*, p. 160.

Slowly, all this preaching against the Tories produced a reaction, and the queen began to tire of her favorite, whose continued absences allowed her, solitary and moody, to brood over her wrongs, and led her to seek other secret advisers.

The relations existing between the queen and her two favorites are of vital importance in determining the extent, nature, and consequences of the intrigues against the ministry. We have seen, thus far, that Abigail came under Anne's influence early in the reign. Exactly when Harley's confidential relations with Abigail began, it is difficult to ascertain, but at least by 1707 her power was sufficient to arouse the duchess. She was a distant but needy cousin of Sarah Jennings,<sup>1</sup> to whom her very existence was unknown until late in William's reign. As soon as the impulsive Sarah's attention was directed by Princess Anne to her poor relation, she endeavored to better the latter's condition, and it was easy to secure for her a place as bedchamber woman in the princess's household.<sup>2</sup> Early in Anne's reign Abigail was promoted to a place in the queen's bedchamber.

Abigail proved herself an efficient servant. "She was a person of a plain, sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise," wrote Swift, who knew her well.<sup>3</sup> She must have possessed considerable natural ability, as her correspondence is clear, and far more intelligible than that

<sup>1</sup> For the exact relationship, consult *Notes & Queries* (2d Series), VIII. 57, 155; *ib.* (10th Series), VIII. 390-1.

<sup>2</sup> Abigail's name appears in the list of Anne's household in 1700. *Angliæ Notitia* (1700), p. 519. She was probably employed as early as 1698. See also Strickland, XI. 276; *Bath MSS.*, I. 189. Another cousin was put to school, in due time became a page to Prince George, and later he was appointed groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. *Conduct*, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Swift, *The Queen's Last Ministry*; see also *Journal to Stella*, *passim*.

of the majority of men and women at court. Her temperament was placid and unruffled, in violent contrast to the duchess's excitability; she was ever courteous and deferential, whereas her cousin had always been brusque and plain-spoken. On all occasions she seemed "full of love, duty and veneration for the Queen, her mistress,"<sup>1</sup> and was always willing to share the confidence of her sovereign and to sympathize with her in all distress.

For many months the duchess did her utmost to further the interests of Abigail at court. The latter was grateful for such assistance and wrote obsequious notes to her benefactress, who was convinced that she was shy and reserved because "she always avoided entering into free conversation with me, and made excuses when I wanted her to go abroad with me."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the duchess was so kind to her socially that the queen soon became jealous. "I hope Mrs. Freeman has no thought of going to the opera with Mrs. Hill," she wrote, "and will have a care of engaging herself too much in her company, for if you give way to that, it is a thing that will insensibly grow upon you. Therefore give me leave once more to beg for your own sake, as well as Mrs. Morley's, that you will have as little to do with that enchantress as 'tis possible, and pray pardon me for saying this."<sup>3</sup>

Anne penned these lines before political difficulties had sprung up to separate her from the duchess; it was earlier, too, than the dispute over the letter of August, 1706, and the unpleasantness concerning Cowper's control over church benefices, which threw into bold relief the High Church beliefs of the one and the Low Church proclivities of the other;<sup>4</sup> neither had the merits of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Queen's Last Ministry; Notes & Queries* (2d Series), VIII. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, ff. 96d-7d.

<sup>3</sup> Reid, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Leadam, p. 123. The real "stone of stumbling was politics," whereas the "work of offense was religion." Reid, p. 148.

head dresser yet become known to Anne. Gradually she learned from Abigail's own lips that she was a devout High Church adherent (if indeed she were not a true Jacobite).<sup>1</sup> Little by little Anne came to know that Abigail looked upon her as the personification of the sovereign power of the realm. Such ideas did much to endear her to the queen, at a time when elections and business interests took the duchess more and more from court. The latter's scoldings and frequent demands for favors to the Whigs made Anne more content with Abigail, but the duchess was either too busy or too obtuse to notice her own gradual loss of authority. Possibly her suspicions began to be aroused by the end of 1705. If so, they were quietly allayed by Anne's clever letter after the failure of the "tack."

In the meanwhile, Harley had also discovered in Abigail a long-lost relative, and perceiving her potential value in politics, began to cultivate her friendship most assiduously. Fortune favored him, as he soon learned that the unassuming Abigail had fallen madly in love with Samuel Masham, gentleman-in-waiting to Prince George, whom he resembled so much both in intellect and disposition. As might have been expected, Masham was completely oblivious of the sighs and amorous glances sent his way by the love-lorn Abigail, but the skilful secretary assumed the rôle of matchmaker<sup>2</sup> so successfully that within a few months, Samuel had taken Abigail for better or worse in a secret marriage which Anne honored with her presence. This ceremony was kept a profound secret for nearly a year before the duchess accidentally heard of it. When we recall how excellent her spy system was, this is really surprising. The fact

<sup>1</sup> This statement rests upon the credibility of Mesnager's *Negotiations*, which, according to Professor Trent, were most probably written by Defoe.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlen, p. 280.



that any attempt was made to keep from her a knowledge of the marriage is sufficiently indicative of her loss of favor in the queen's eyes.

When the irritable duchess heard of Abigail's marriage, her anger was terrible. In her ravings not even Anne was spared, for had she not been present in Dr. Arbuthnot's chambers during the ceremony! Her harsh comments upon her cousin's unseemly behavior largely contributed to widening the gulf between queen and favorite, which was visible to all at court except the redoubtable Sarah herself. The duchess's resentment against Mrs. Masham was accentuated by the latter's intimacy with Harley, as Lady Marlborough was exceedingly fearful of his meddling in the queen's affairs.<sup>1</sup> She had ample reason to fear Harley's intrigues, for by his matchmaking ability, the secretary had gained the close co-operation and gratitude of Mrs. Masham, whose quiet, unobtrusive demeanor was needed to carry out his political policies. As Abigail's influence increased, he depended upon her tact to carry his suggestions to the queen; when an interview was necessary, he relied upon her to smuggle him into Anne's secret closet. Mrs. Masham's power to maintain strict secrecy is shown by her keeping her marriage concealed from her haughty cousin for many months, and she soon displayed a talent for dissimulation that was almost genius. She retained her maiden name so long, not so much because she feared the "tigerish rage" of the vindictive duchess as for the reason that Harley's schemes would be more certain to succeed, if his relations with the queen remained unknown alike to Godolphin and the junto.

Mrs. Masham's native shrewdness and remarkable self-possession are unconsciously attested by the duchess herself. Soon after learning of the secret marriage,

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 183-4; Strickland, XII. 141-3.

Sarah pounced upon Abigail and demanded that her humble relative should explain why Anne happened to know of it when she was not equally well informed. Mrs. Masham retained her composure and sweetly replied that "she believed the bed-chamber woman had told the Queen of it."<sup>1</sup> Under all sorts of disadvantageous conditions, Abigail never lost her poise and no one was ever able to get from her any detailed account of her relations with Anne. Possessed of a temperament so tranquil she must have been a welcome relief to the queen from the turbulent duchess, and an important, though secret, factor in the execution of Harley's schemes.

Having made so little headway with her cousin, the impetuous groom of the stole carried her troubles to the queen. She found Anne unresponsive. This was due in part to the frequency of the duchess's complaints about menials at court. Once she accused Mrs. Danvers, a bed-chamber woman dear to the queen, of being a spy as well as saying "false and impertinent things," and vainly urged her dismissal. At another time, she wished a place for a soldier's widow; Anne replied that she did not need an extra woman of the bedchamber, but "when she did, she would not have any married person for the future." That she might end the controversy once for all, the queen soon selected the homely daughter of Mrs. Danvers for the place.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of these experiences, the duchess was not greatly surprised at Anne's lack of sympathy. She was alarmed, however, when Mrs. Morley openly championed the cause of her dresser. During all of the duchess's maledictions, Anne stood fixed in her belief that Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> Strickland, XII. 150. The duchess also tells of Abigail's unwittingly bouncing in upon her private interview with the queen and excusing herself by inquiring innocently of Anne, "Did you ring?"

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XLIV. 54-6; Strickland, XII. 141-3. Mrs. Danvers had been Anne's bedchamber woman since 1688.

Masham had been right in keeping her marriage a secret from one who was certain to create a scene if anything were done without her consent. For a time, Anne concealed her personal feelings, but at last, even her easy-going nature was aroused. She could write polite, evasive notes no longer, so she informed the duchess that she did not care to discuss the matter any further.

In reply, the duchess bitterly complained of the meddlesomeness of the relative she had raised from the dust, to which Anne sarcastically retorted that Mrs. Masham never meddled with anything, although others in her employ had been both "tattling and impertinent."<sup>1</sup> The duchess had also asked some pointed questions about Abigail's associates, but all the satisfaction Anne vouchsafed was that Mrs. Masham kept the same sort of company as others of her station. She breathed not a single word of Harley! Neither did she express any willingness to part with Abigail!

Upon this last point the duchess was most insistent, and intimated that the loss of confidence felt by Godolphin and her husband might force them to resign. Anne assured her that she must be mistaken. The duchess persevered, although she received no encouragement. At last Anne's patience gave out entirely; she insisted that the duke was in error when he imagined he had "not much credit" with her; she begged the duchess not to "mention that person any more whom you are pleased to call the object of my favour, for whatever character the malicious world may give her, I do assure you it will never have any weight with me, knowing she does not deserve it, nor can I ever change the good impression you once gave me of her, unless she should give me a cause, which I am very sure she never will."<sup>2</sup> A more pointed

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 99; Coxe Papers, XV. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 52.

note it is difficult to imagine, but its recipient failed to see the handwriting on the wall.

Having failed completely to gain her purpose by a frontal attack upon the new favorite, the duchess took her troubles to Godolphin, who waited upon Anne at once and presented the case for the ministry. He made the most discouraging report that "he had indeed convinced the Queen that Mrs. Masham was in the wrong, but that it was evident that her Majesty would have preferred considering her in the right."<sup>1</sup> Even this did not check the headstrong course of the duchess, who decided to write Anne more frankly, if possible, than ever before. "I know Mrs. Morley's intentions are good," she said, "and to let her run on in so many mistakes that must of necessity draw her into great misfortunes at last, is just as if I should see a friend's house set on fire, and let them be burnt in their beds without endeavouring to wake them, only because they had taken ladanum and had desired not to be disturbed. This is the case of poor, dear Mrs. Morley, nothing seems agreeable to her but what comes from the artifices of one that has always been reputed to have a great talent that way. I heartily wish she may discover her true friends before she suffers for the want of that knowledge."<sup>2</sup> Such biting remarks about her cousin did not suffice to allay the duchess's temper; she insisted that Abigail should meet her and explain what she meant by aping her betters. Mrs. Masham naturally had no desire to encounter a "tornado in petticoats," and her frantic endeavors to escape such an ordeal enlisted the support of the queen, who was able to sympathize with her. To the duchess, this was the bitterest drop in the cup; it was not sufficient that her own cousin should turn against her, but that

<sup>1</sup> Strickland, XII. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XV. 76.

Anne should support this upstart against her own comrade, that was adding insult to injury! The duchess's resentment increased accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

Disquieting as was the queen's attitude, it does not imply that she wished to cast off her old favorite. It is apparent that she only wished to enjoy the new one in peace, for even if her feelings of gratitude were not active, she was too clever to destroy Harley's well-laid plans by an exhibition of temper. As a result, her caressing tone was soon as alluring as ever. "I cannot go to bed without renewing a request which I have often made, that you would banish all unkind and unjust thoughts of [me]," she wrote. "I saw by the glimpse I had of you yesterday, that you were full of 'em. Indeed I do not deserve 'em, and if you could see my heart you would find it as sincere, as tender, and passionately fond of you as ever; and as truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind freely on all occasions. Nothing shall ever alter me! Though we may have the misfortune to differ in some things, I will ever be the same to [you] . . . , I am more tenderly and sincerely [yours] than it is possible ever to express."<sup>2</sup>

Throughout this long and trying controversy, Anne constantly insisted that her friendship for Mrs. Masham was purely personal and need not affect in any way her political relations with the duke and Godolphin,<sup>3</sup> although she failed to mention the all-important fact that while the duchess and the junto were ruffling her temper, Harley and Mrs. Masham were constantly dinning in her ears

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34517, ff. 48-9; *ib.*, 34515, f. 103; *Conduct*, pp. 183-4.

<sup>2</sup> Strickland, XII. 165. It seems to come from the Coxe Papers. See Swift, *Change of Ministry*, and *Four Last Years*; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 82.

<sup>3</sup> In the midst of this quarrel, Anne wrote the duchess: "I never did, nor never will give them any just reason to forsake me; and they have too much honour and too sincere a love for their country to leave me without a

that she was being dictated to by her ministers to such an extent that she could scarcely call her soul her own.<sup>1</sup>

Godolphin, however, realized the danger of these personal attacks on Mrs. Masham, which only tended to bring the queen and Harley closer together. The duchess either could not or would not listen to reason, and as a result, her querulousness and thoughts of revenge made it all the more difficult for the lord treasurer to come to an understanding with Anne over the bishoprics of Chester and Exeter. When the queen stood out for her own excellent selections, the vexation of the Marlboroughs must have been great, especially since Anne steadily insisted that Harley (and by implication, Mrs. Masham) was in no way responsible for these appointments.

To a woman less blinded by her own importance than the duchess, such a check would have brought a period of silence; inasmuch as Anne had politely requested her not to mention Mrs. Masham again. The fatuity of the duchess is almost unbelievable. Having been associated with the queen all her life, she nevertheless failed to understand her sentiments even when plainly expressed. Persistence, moreover, was one of the duchess's virtues, and Abigail's ingratitude was thrice "sharper than a serpent's tooth." Once again, she berated her ambitious cousin who "like Iago, gave . . . wounds in the dark,"<sup>2</sup> and charged her with being Harley's servant rather than Anne's friend. After some delay, she secured an interview with Mrs. Masham. The result was most exasperating. The serving woman had the presumption to

cause. And I beg you would not add to my other misfortunes, of pushing them on to such an unjust and unjustifiable action." *Conduct*, p. 202. Anne feared that she might vindictively force her husband to resign. There is also present the familiar appeal to the patriotism of Godolphin and Marlborough.

<sup>1</sup> *Other Side*, pp. 310-1; Goldsmith, *Hist. of Eng.*, IV. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, p. 278.

suggest that the queen "would always be kind" to her (the duchess)!<sup>1</sup> In all the vicissitudes of her long and fretful life, the latter never received such a terrific blow to her pride. Her anger against Abigail turned to burning hatred, which persisted as long as she lived.

Such unseemly behavior did much to open Anne's eyes and gave point to the insinuating statements of Mrs. Masham, in which there was just enough truth to cause a revulsion of feeling against Marlborough and Godolphin. The queen remembered with bitterness how Sunderland had been foisted upon her, and fretted continually under the constant and excessive demands of the Whigs. As a result, she stood ready to cast off her composite ministry that she might become more independent. However, the duke and Godolphin were able, after many difficulties, to weather the storm and even secured the dismissal of Harley in order to unify ministerial policy. The queen parted with him reluctantly, but still clung to Mrs. Masham. Though desiring to break up her ministry, Anne had no particular wish to rid herself of the duchess, since the latter apparently played but an insignificant part in political and ecclesiastical affairs. It was only when the latter became dictatorial and insisted upon Abigail's dismissal that the queen turned against her.

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 206. Note the accusation leveled against the duchess in Carte's "Memoranda." "The Duchess was infinitely haughty, insolent, passionate and ill bred; no knowledge, poise, or judgment, but she absolutely governed the Queen and all the world could not have got the Queen out of her hands if her own imperious treatment of her had not done the business when she quarreled with her cousin German, Mrs. Masham, who fell on her knees and face to the ground, and asked wherein she had offended, protested her innocence and zeal for her, etc. She called her bitch, jade, whore, etc., till the other was convinced there was no keeping in with her, and having good plain sense, took proper measures to get into the Queen's graces." Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCLXVI. 37<sup>b</sup>. See also Thomson, II. 101; Colville, pp. 188-90.

Before closing this examination of the influence of the duchess, we must examine the statements of two contemporaries and one secondary writer. In one of the earliest attempts to tell the life history of this remarkable woman, the writer concluded that "notwithstanding all the clamours that was raised against her Grace, during the time of her continuation in favour, though it is very probable (and to say the truth partly appears from the letters that passed between the Queen and her) that she did offer advice on most occasions, we don't find she ever presumed to dictate to her mistress; . . . or pretend to prescribe her private opinions as a law, from which her Majesty must not dare to swerve."<sup>1</sup> Dean Swift also says that Lady Marlborough's influence was greatly circumscribed from the early months of the reign.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence thus far examined in no way contradicts these statements of contemporary writers. The duchess had many violent enemies, who railed at her constantly. Even those who had no personal reasons to dislike her, attacked her because she did not secure for them the preferments they sought, when the truth probably was that the queen had her own ideas regarding such appointments. To be candid with disappointed office seekers, the duchess soon discovered, was casting pearls before swine, and in but few instances would they believe that Anne's favorite did not possess supreme control over appointments.

For all this, there is a plausible explanation. It has been characteristic of the English to look for the power behind the throne,<sup>3</sup> and particularly was this true in the Stuart period. Charles I had his Buckingham and his Strafford; Charles II, his Clarendon and his Danby;

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Sarah*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Swift, *Change of Ministry*; Von Noorden, I. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Consult "An Unpublished Letter of Defoe" in *E. H. R.*, XXII. 132.



William III, his Portland and his Keppel. After Anne's accession, disappointed English courtiers thought they found such influence in the Marlboroughs, who acted as a sort of buffer between her and seekers after a share in the patronage. So this gifted couple became a mark for the resentment of those unhappy, virulent individuals whom the queen refused to favor with suitable preferments.

The duchess tried to make it plain that she had been much abused on this score. Unhappily for her fame, few have believed her, because they were unable to conceive how Anne could possibly have a mind of her own in political and ecclesiastical affairs. One painstaking student of this period, Archdeacon Coxe, did suggest, a century ago, however, that the duchess had but little influence in political affairs, or even upon important nominations, political or otherwise. He further avers that the duke allowed his wife to have her way in family affairs, but into the political arena, when important policies were discussed, she was not permitted to enter.<sup>1</sup>

It is hard to understand why the words of Swift and the conclusions of Coxe have been neglected for a century. Yet such has been the case. The latter, however, was dealing primarily with the duke, and made no attempt to prove his theory concerning the duchess. Since his death, the publication of many additional letters of Anne and Lady Marlborough bear out his hypothesis. Moreover, the bitterest attacks upon the duchess are found not in the pamphlets of Anne's reign, but in those of a generation later.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, I. 154, II. 92. This reference is to the edition of 1820, as for some reason the editor of the second edition omitted the vital part of the note in the second reference. Bunbury, in his *Hanmer* (pp. 8-10), follows Swift to some degree, but later writers have neglected their statements.

<sup>2</sup> Few pamphleteers attacked the duchess on the grounds of her monopoly

The present chapter has so far attempted to show that there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that the Duchess of Marlborough was a vital factor in English politics from 1702 to 1708. In fact, she did not show any great understanding of politics. To her, the Protestant hero was but a glutton who devoured the peas his sister-in-law liked so well; Mary II, only a curious woman whose main interest was prying into the clothes closets of the royal mansion; Harley, no more than a base intriguer, who gained Anne's confidence under false pretences.<sup>1</sup> She does not appear to have had at her disposal any considerable number of peerages, important places at court, or church offices. By 1707 her personal influence was so far diminished that she could not prevail upon Anne to dismiss even her dresser, though her request was backed up by the implied threats of resignation of both Godolphin and Marlborough.

We are now ready to consider how far the queen was influenced in turn by these two men. The difficulty of attempting to separate the influence of the duke from that of the duchess is obvious, as the secrets between man and wife are of all secrets the most elusive. When both were in positions of honor and trust close to the queen, in whose political plans each was supposed to share, the difficulty is still more perplexing; when their relations with Anne are still further complicated by the presence of an influential minister acting as an intermediary between them and the queen, the task becomes almost insuperable.

Marlborough's life is intensely interesting. He was a favorite of James, Duke of York, and was kindly treated by Charles II, although this indulgent monarch found it

of political power. They mainly criticized her parsimony. See [Defoe], *Modest Vindication of the Present Ministry*, p. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, XXXVIII. 409.

politic to send him from the country when the Duchess of Cleveland grew too fond of him. He was employed by James II to crush Monmouth's rebellion. He soon entered into negotiations with William of Orange, and deserted the monarch who had been so kind to him. Within a few months after the Revolution he incurred William's suspicion, and in 1692 was dismissed from all his places and imprisoned. By that time he had secured a pardon from James and soon attempted to betray William's expedition against Brest. He was once more in public employment by 1696, and the king appointed him governor to his young nephew.

He started life as plain John Churchill. James created him a baron, and William made him Earl of Marlborough. During the last three eventful decades of the seventeenth century, he gained extensive experience in military science. He fought in the Netherlands during the Dutch war and distinguished himself in several campaigns under that great master of strategy, Turenne. In the war of the Palatinate, he was busily engaged for a short time, but was soon sent to Ireland where, despite the inefficiency of the commissariat, he quickly captured both Kinsale and Cork. William then suspected his loyalty and deprived him of his command. He had proved his military worth, however, and the king sent him to Holland in 1701 as commander-in-chief.

Of Marlborough's influence in 1702, there is no question. He was absolute commander of the army, and through his brother, who was an admiral and a member of the Admiralty Board of the navy as well; the treasury was in the hands of his devoted friend, Godolphin, who was also the father-in-law of his eldest daughter; and his wife rested supreme in the queen's confidence. His powers were so large "that the disposal of all offices, civil and military, and of the wealth of the kingdom,

seemed to depend on one single person."<sup>1</sup> But this extensive power was in itself a source of weakness, because it aroused envy and enmity. The brilliant military leader was also most vulnerable to attack. Though his lack of stable principles had caused him to betray both the sovereigns who had trusted him, it was his unbounded avarice which gave his enemies their greatest opportunity. Few really great men have been so grasping, perhaps none so penurious<sup>2</sup> or so unboundedly selfish. He was never a "good fellow" when that type was so common and so popular. Except immediately after a great victory, Marlborough was one of the most unpopular men in England; whereas his wife was probably the most cordially hated of English women, because of her pride and excessive love of money.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, the duke's political inclinations were not sufficiently pronounced to hold him to any one party. Opportunism was his watchword from the beginning of Anne's reign until that much-abused lady closed her eyes forever. For politics itself, he cared not the least.\* During the first eight years of Anne's reign, his first thought was only for the war; and he was willing to ally himself with any party or faction that would aid him against Louis XIV. When in the first months of the

<sup>1</sup> Boyer, p. 177. Wyon (II. 84) is still more emphatic, grouping Marlborough and Godolphin together as responsible for the entire administration.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough, when old and infirm, walked to and from his lodgings at Bath to save sixpence chair hire, and left over a million sterling to the grandson of a man he despised. King, *Anecdotes*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>3</sup> One wag published an imaginary list of the duke's books. Among the titles were "On the Nature of Splitting Offices," and "The Advantage of being a Rogue in all Reigns," Add. MSS., 22267, ff. 130-1; Hearne, I. 102, 314. Severe strictures on Marlborough may be found in Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, f. 242. Contemporary pamphlets and periodicals were filled with bitter attacks upon the Marlboroughs.

\* Coxe, I. 235. The present Duke of Marlborough notes that "the political game did not appeal to him." Reid, p. xxxvi. See also Thomae, p. 148.

reign, an election transferred the power in the lower house to the Tories, the majority of whom, for the nonce, promised loyal support to the war, he joined with them, only to find them gradually losing their zest and murmuring at the prolongation of hostilities.

In opposition to Marlborough's better judgment, the Tories insisted also upon abandoning the attitude of toleration towards Dissenters, although they knew full well that in so doing they were stirring up political strife. However, politically speaking, the Occasional Conformity Bill was both his danger and his opportunity; his opportunity in that it forced him to ally himself with the Whigs, who were willing to continue the war vigorously, and his danger because it gradually placed him at the mercy of the junto's efficient organization for all his future support. Marlborough foresaw the risk he was running, and as he had no mind to put his head into a noose unless it should be absolutely necessary for continuing the war, his change from Tory to Whig was provokingly slow. Moreover, he had a real respect for the queen. He was a true monarchist, and to him Anne was vastly more than his constitutional sovereign—she was a Stuart. In keeping with the ideas prevailing during the reigns of Charles II and his brother, he believed that the monarch should govern as well as reign. L'Hermitage, the Dutch representative, realized this and insisted that Marlborough was not a republican, but was most jealous for the queen's prerogative.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that Marlborough desired to place both the queen and her advisers above party struggles. In the early months of 1702, he might have brought the queen to appoint a thorough-going Tory ministry.<sup>2</sup> Instead, he advised a moderate cabinet council and his suggestions did not change, even

<sup>1</sup> L'Hermitage to Heinsius, Rijks Archief, 26A; Reid, p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A; *Other Side*, p. 157; Thomson, II. 30.

when the Tory leaders discredited themselves in his eyes by openly opposing Anne's wishes. His concern for the queen's feelings is shown when the second Occasional Conformity Bill came to a vote. Despite his dislike for the measure, he voted for it in company with such High-fliers as Nottingham and Jersey.<sup>1</sup> Anne did not so openly urge the passage of this bill, as she had the first, yet she made it plain that those who voted for the measure would not lose her favor. Consequently, the duke decided to keep her friendship by favoring the measure she personally liked, and later signed a protest in support of the bill. His caution was partly due to his realization of Anne's kindly feeling towards the Tories, who posed as the champions of the church she loved so well. He was, it is true, largely responsible for Rochester's removal, but this removal would probably have been impossible, had not the haughty earl treated Anne so discourteously.

Marlborough worked in this tactful way to gain the queen's support for the war, which she never looked upon with approval. While the Tories were growing more and more opposed, he secretly began negotiations with the junto. How early a working agreement existed, it seems impossible to ascertain. One careful writer believed that it was as early as 1704, but it is probable that a "gentleman's agreement" was formulated even earlier. In fact, such a policy was quite in keeping with Marlborough's

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 170. "I must be careful not to do the thing in the world my Lord Rochester would most desire to have me do, which is to give my vote against the bill," wrote Marlborough. "The bill will certainly be thrown out unless my Lord Treasurer and I will both speak to the people, and speak in the house." Thomas, p. 247. The same cautious attitude and desire to please may be found in Marlborough's support of the bill to grant Prince George a jointure of £100,000 a year, if he outlived the queen. Thomas Birch believed that they brought up the Occasional Conformity Bill originally to please the queen. Birch MSS., Add. MSS., 4221, f. 24.

idea of the fitness of things, so long as he was able to balance one party against the other. To carry out such a plan successfully, however, the duke needed the close co-operation of the queen, and great forbearance on the part of the Whig leaders. Neither was possible. Had the junto been less exacting in its demands for political spoils, Marlborough might have retained Anne's support despite even the rebellious stubbornness of his wife, who kept urging him to abandon the Tories and turn to the Whigs.

The duke was most reluctant to turn to the junto. He disliked being called again a traitor and knew better than did his wife that the queen was inveterately opposed to admitting Whigs into the ministry.<sup>1</sup> He would have respected the queen's wishes, but the junto would not be denied; although at first they insisted only upon the appointment of such moderate Whigs as Cowper and Newcastle. When, however, the junto tried to force Sunderland into the place of Hedges, a stanch Tory, both the Marlboroughs and the Whigs lost much of their influence with Anne. The arguments used to convince her that it was necessary either to accept him or rely once more upon the insolent Highfliers, gave her the impression that the remedy was almost as bad as the disease, and set her more firmly than ever against the Whigs. The fact that Sunderland was the son-in-law of the Marlboroughs, coupled with his own tactless behavior, caused a rapid decline of the royal favor towards all three. As a result, after 1707, Marlborough was continually complaining and threatening to resign unless Anne treated him with more consideration.

Such, in general, was the position and the attitude of Marlborough towards political affairs during the first half of the reign. It remains to examine his relation to

<sup>1</sup> See Marlborough's letter to his wife in 1703 in Thomas, p. 247.

the details of administration. What was his influence over appointments before Sunderland's introduction into the ministry? His selection as captain general was partly the result of his own transcendent ability, and partly because of Anne's friendship for him and his wife. Shortly after the queen's accession, it was rumored that Marlborough was to be master of the horse. For some reason that honor went to Somerset, and Marlborough was made knight of the garter<sup>1</sup> and duke instead. After Blenheim, the emperor proposed to bestow upon Marlborough a grant of land and the title of prince, but the duke was careful not to commit himself before he referred the whole matter to the queen, who gave him permission to accept the honor, and he became Prince of Mindelheim.<sup>2</sup> Anne granted him the manor of Woodstock and the House of Commons cleared it of all incumbrances. The queen then ordered the palace of Blenheim to be erected as a fitting memorial of Marlborough's victory. Despite the opposition of the Commons, she wished to change a grant of £5,000 a year during her reign to a pension which should continue as long as the title lasted, but she tactfully withdrew the motion<sup>3</sup> and secretly offered the duchess £2,000 a year out of the privy purse, which sum the latter at the time had the good grace to refuse. This quiet move of the queen indicates her desire to have her way so as to "draw no envy."<sup>4</sup> After Ramillies, she had her will, and the duke was rewarded as she had asked. Even earlier, the emperor had offered

<sup>1</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7070, ff. 31-2; Rijks Archief, 26A; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 37; *Shrewsb. Cor.*, pp. 633-5.

<sup>2</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7070, f. 192; Coxe, I. 222-4, 380; Mahon, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Morrison (2d Series), II. 39, 41; Stebbing, *Genealog. Hist.*, p. 780; Remusat, I. 146; *Other Side*, p. 195; Boyer, p. 37; *C. J.*, XV. 230, 237, 241.

<sup>4</sup> *Conduct*, p. 295. See also *F. L. Wood MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 86; Evelyn, *Diary*, II. 397.



to appoint him to the most lucrative post of governor of the Spanish Netherlands, which he tactfully accepted subject to the approval of the queen and the Dutch authorities. Anne and her ministers were flattered by the act, but the Dutch gave only a reluctant consent.<sup>1</sup>

By this time, the concentration of so much honor and power in one grasping family aroused the envy of less fortunate courtiers. Marlborough was in control of military and diplomatic affairs; Godolphin, of finance; George Churchill, of the admiralty; the duchess, of the queen. A fear arose that Marlborough might become a "mayor of the palace" while the queen lived, and a Cromwell or a Monck when she passed away.<sup>2</sup> Some enterprising enemy of the Marlboroughs calculated that their total income amounted to more than £60,000. For military services alone, the general received from the English £17,000, the States-General gave him £10,000, £15,000 more came to him as perquisites from the foreign troops in English pay, and his wife received over £6,000 from her positions at court.<sup>3</sup> If these figures are even approximately accurate, we should not wonder that courtiers grumbled about the favors bestowed upon the Marlboroughs, and objected strenuously when Anne wished to be more liberal still.

Prior to 1706, Marlborough was certainly successful in securing honors for himself. What was his importance in securing civil offices for others? Early in 1704, he wrote to Sir Thomas Coke, M. P. from Derby and a teller of the exchequer, promising him his influence to secure a better place as soon as a vacancy suitable to his

<sup>1</sup> Rijks Archief, October 5, 1706; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7064, ff. 1-7; Leadam, p. 83; Burton, III. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlen, p. 29; Lediard, *Marlb.*, II. 5; S. P. Dom., Anne, III. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, I. 162. The *Examiner* for 1710 contains practically the same figures, which are independent of gifts from various sources. Each of the duke's four daughters married wealthy nobles.

rank should occur, and saying that he had already spoken to Anne in his favor.<sup>1</sup> For this or some other reason, the member from Derby was shortly holding the position of vice-chamberlain, exchanging offices with Peregrine Bertie. Somewhat later, the duke wrote Lord Gower that he would recommend him for a position as soon as he thought that there would be any possibility of success.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, he deemed it useless to mention the matter to Anne while Sunderland's case was pending. Two others who persistently asked Marlborough's aid were George Granville and Matthew Prior, but only the former was rewarded for his perseverance.<sup>3</sup>

The next instance of Marlborough's activity in appointments appears in a letter of St. John's. It seems that either Harley or St. John, or both, had secured the queen's assent to a commission for one Colonel Dobyn. Anne, however, broke her promise because she remembered that the duke had previously spoken to her about the place, and she informed St. John that Marlborough's candidate would probably secure the appointment.<sup>4</sup>

The general still retained a firm grasp on all military appointments. His jealousy prevented Peterborough from becoming a captain-general or a governor of Jamaica, although the queen wished the earl to have the latter position, but a few years later the duke was distinctly uneasy lest Anne might prefer Peterborough's candidates to his own.<sup>5</sup> His unrest continued, for months

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 32; *Conduct*, p. 131. See also Reid, p. 227; *Anglicæ Notitia* (1708) p. 609; S. P. Dom., Anne, I. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Sutherland MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 188. An interesting letter on this point is found in the Coxe Papers, XVIII. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 396; Coxe Papers, XXII, XXIV. *passim*. Prior in particular wrote long appeals to the duke, but actually lost his place on the Board of Trade in 1706.

<sup>4</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 275.

<sup>5</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 45, 285; Coxe Papers, XIX.

after he asked Godolphin to see that "the Queen would not let any body have governments but such as have served in the army for if the Duke of Newcastle and others can prevail we shall have no other governors but Parliament men, which I am sure is not for her Majesty's service."<sup>1</sup> The lord treasurer's reply was quite satisfactory and the question of military appointments did not come up again for many months.

Happily for our conclusions, we do not need to depend upon such minor appointments, because we find four important offices, the filling of which was due almost entirely to Marlborough's influence. Yet even here the queen could not have been very reluctant to accede to his wishes in filling two of them. At any rate, Godolphin became lord treasurer; Harley and Sunderland, secretaries of state; and Henry St. John, secretary at war, largely because they were all friends of Marlborough.

Though the duke's influence thus appears far from negligible in determining who should hold important civil and military offices, it is manifestly impossible to reach satisfactory conclusions from the meager data available. Much of Marlborough's power was necessarily exerted through Godolphin, and the latter's relations to the queen must be studied, before a final judgment can be rendered.

Whatever may have been the duke's influence in filling offices at court, his diplomatic and military duties were clearly defined. He was the general not only of the English but of the Dutch armies as well; he had not only to fight battles but to keep his allies in good humor; he had

149. See also *ib.*, XVIII. 145; S. P. Dom., Anne, VIII. 80; Blathwayt Papers, Add. MSS., 9722, f. 131; *Other Side*, p. 259.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XXII. 115; see *ib.*, 124. Even after Ramillies the duke was by no means certain that Anne would permit his suggestions to be carried out. Coxe Papers, XIX. 149; Lansdowne MSS. (B. M.), 1236, f. 252.

to secure funds not only to carry on his own campaigns but those of his allies also. He was able to look after the diplomatic and military affairs himself, but in matters of finance he was fortunate in having the co-operation of Godolphin. Indeed, Marlborough was more trusted abroad than at home. When the reign was yet young, both the Prussian and the Dutch representatives in London trusted him implicitly. One historian calls him the "soul of the coalition."<sup>1</sup> Vernon believed that Marlborough and Godolphin were the arbiters of the affairs of the kingdom in 1702.<sup>2</sup> Nottingham's public and private correspondence, as secretary of state, indicates that in diplomacy he was little more than a clerk of Godolphin and the duke.<sup>3</sup>

The queen had, however, what must have been, to Marlborough, a most unfortunate habit of keeping closely in touch with state affairs. As far as foreign negotiations were concerned, she was usually content to let well enough alone, except when it came to important dispatches and appointments to diplomatic posts, about which she frequently wanted to know something before giving her consent. Once, after Stanhope had grown so old as to be of little service, the post at The Hague was under discussion, and Anne immediately suggested that it would be best to pension Stanhope, and appoint in his stead, Stepney, one of the most skilful of English diplomats.<sup>4</sup> Numerous indications in the dispatches of Hedges

<sup>1</sup> Brosch, *Bolingbroke*, p. 23; Bonet's *Berichte*, cited by Von Noorden, I. 200; L'Hermitage's letters in Rijks Archief, 26A.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XII. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 285, 356; Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29549, ff. 95-118.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe Papers, XVIII. 183; *ib.*, XIX. 150, *sq.*; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 277, 296. Vernon thought Godolphin and Marlborough were trying to keep him as secretary of state, but Nottingham got the place. Coxe Papers, XII. 125; James, III. 222.

and Harley, while they were secretaries of state, create a strong presumption that many important letters from abroad were read to Anne, who gave directions at once, without consulting either Marlborough or Godolphin.<sup>1</sup> However, we may have no doubt that when it came to a vital point in foreign policy, the duke's will prevailed over any whims of the queen.

Despite Anne's interest in foreign affairs, there was no question in the minds of foreign statesmen that the duke was in control of diplomatic matters in England. There was little doubt in the minds of the English people as to his responsibility for foreign negotiations. Indeed, they openly charged him with prolonging the war to make money out of it. In spite of his ability to win victories, he was often accused of arbitrarily defeating all peace negotiations to increase his military fame. The mass of correspondence available on this point shows that Marlborough was essentially a man of peace. In October, 1703, he wrote Harley: "What you write confirms me very much in the desire I have for some time had of retiring from these uneasy and troublesome broils. However, I shall never be wanting in my duty to her Majesty and my country whenever my endeavours may be thought useful."<sup>2</sup> Marlborough throws the responsibility for war or peace upon the allies, notably Holland. He approved of a letter which Harley had sent to the Dutch, "as they would also do," he said, "were they not cursed with the passion of jealousy. It is gone to so extravagant a length as that some fear the French may be brought to Loo, but I hope the honest party is much the greater, so that they will approve of a treaty guaranteeing any

<sup>1</sup> Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7058 and 7059, *passim*, particularly 7059, f. 59; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 76; S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CV., Pt. ii. 25-6; Coxe Papers, XVII. 185, XX. 35; *Bath MSS.*, I. 157, 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 56. See also Coxe, I. 318-9.

future treaty of peace we may have with France, which must be our security, for there can be no relying on anything France will promise.”<sup>1</sup> Most of the evidence is largely unconscious, and is emphasized repeatedly in letters to his wife, to Godolphin, and to Anne, and shows that he loved the smoke of his own fireside far better than the smoke of battle.

Let us now turn our attention to Marlborough’s firm friend, Godolphin, who throughout the years that he remained in Anne’s ministry was, without question, the supreme head of the treasury. Finance was his special department, into which no one else cared or dared to enter.<sup>2</sup> Added, however, to his duties as the financier, was the urgent necessity of keeping in touch with political developments, that parliamentary opposition should not defeat the grants for carrying on the war, both on land and sea.

He was selected as first minister because he was an old friend of the Marlboroughs and the queen. When Anne was brooding over William’s discourtesies, Godolphin had sympathized with her; when she was fighting for a separate allowance, he had championed her cause. Such favors she could not forget when the Marlboroughs urged his appointment as lord high treasurer, although her uncle had built his hopes on securing the place. It was inevitable that she should like Godolphin, though his temperament was not such as to make him her confidant. His innate honesty<sup>3</sup> doubtless appealed to her as much

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 98-9. This question is examined in ch. IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Tr. Papers* (1702-14). These volumes give a vivid idea of his industry and ability. See I. S. Leadam, “The Finance of Godolphin,” *Trans. R. H. S.* (3d Series), IV.

<sup>3</sup> It may seem paradoxical to call a man “honest” who was constantly in communication with St. Germain from 1690 probably until his death. His only purpose in this technical treason was to guard against a traitor’s death in case the Stuarts should return. Carte calls him “incorruptible.”

as his loyalty. Unfortunately, he was not the polished gentleman, the suave courtier, who could enliven the queen and, if necessary, flatter her into a compliance with his wishes. He was of the type who felt far more at home at Newmarket than in the drawing-room. He was socially a dull and uninteresting individual,<sup>1</sup> and Anne's domestic associations were such as to satisfy all longings for that type of person. It was a still more unhappy circumstance for Godolphin that he was in his way almost as frank as his friend and adviser, the duchess; that he used the crude method of direct attack, when finesse might have been more successful in gaining the queen's co-operation. Another handicap under which he labored was that of constitutional timidity. He was ever in a state of terror and was obsessed with the idea that his enemies might get the better of him through impeachment or a bill of attainder. As a result, he was usually sulking or in an attitude of habitual compromise with his opponents. The quick-witted junto made the most of this cardinal weakness and annoyed him unceasingly. After 1704, he frequently threatened to resign, but like his friend and colleague, he could never quite make up his mind to cross the Rubicon.<sup>2</sup>

Godolphin was for many months the real leader in the sessions of the cabinet council, and Anne was so well pleased with Godolphin's administration that she made

Carte MSS., CCXXXI. 34a. Dartmouth's vitriolic statement that he allowed the Marlboroughs to control the treasury and convert it to their avarice and ambition with no regard for the difficulties or straits of the queen, is untrue. Burnet, V. 8. He died poor when he might have been wealthy.

<sup>1</sup> Macky indicated that he was slow of speech, serious in his deportment, and always doing more than he promised; he disliked flattery and was difficult of access even to friends. *Memoirs*, p. 24. He was also past the prime of life and his mind was open only to political considerations.

<sup>2</sup> Carte's "Memoranda," Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCXXXI. 34a; Coxe Papers, XIII. 165. Vernon thought his putting his friends into office was a certain sign that he would remain as treasurer.

him a knight of the garter in 1703 and created him an earl two years later.<sup>1</sup> With the aid of the duke and the queen he managed to keep the Highfliers in check until they attempted to persecute the Dissenters. When they failed in their assaults, they were replaced by moderate Whigs and Tories. When this move failed to check them, the lord treasurer was forced to turn to the Whigs. He secured the support of the junto, and the Tories were routed, but this was only the beginning of his tribulations.

After 1704, Godolphin struggled on under an ever increasing burden of responsibility. He was villified by the Tories for his alliance with the Whigs, and damned by the latter because he was so slow in finding them offices in the government. He was greatly handicapped in all his plans, particularly with reference to appointments; not only had he to secure Anne's consent—ofttimes a trying ordeal—but his selections had to be approved by one or both of the Marlboroughs, and probably by Harley as well. Worst of all, when he failed to place some influential politician in office, he was held jointly responsible with the duchess, although both may have favored that particular candidate, but found themselves blocked by the queen. To explain the facts to the applicant would be only to incite the added odium of lying.

Despite the manifold difficulties surrounding his work, Godolphin unquestionably controlled the ministry for the first years of the reign, although there are signs that his influence with Anne was declining at the close of the second year.<sup>2</sup> Numerous fragments and letters which he wrote from 1702 to 1705 show that he was influential in determining the patronage and directing the activity of the cabinet council. Nottingham was the recipient of many short notes, directing him to take care of important

<sup>1</sup> J. Hervey, *Letter Books*, I. 194; Add. MSS. (Bodl.), CXCI. f. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Swift, *Some Considerations upon the Death of the Queen*.



business, which Godolphin wished to be handled in a certain specified way.<sup>1</sup> Harley also received many messages of moment from the lord treasurer. From the same sources, the impression is created that on vital matters connected with foreign affairs, and especially with domestic politics, the queen had to be consulted, and embarrassing delays ensued because she failed to accede promptly to the wishes of her ministers.<sup>2</sup>

In the many duties of his office, the lord treasurer had to have the aid of colleagues to carry out his plans, and he learned, to his cost, that skilful assistants were hard to find. Early in the reign he began to depend more and more upon Harley, who took a hearty and intelligent interest in the plans of the ministry until eventually he was made secretary of state. Very early in the reign Harley was called upon to make suggestions for the queen's speeches, to facilitate the passage of the special grant to Marlborough, and to carry the election of 1702. Later, the lord treasurer urged him to mitigate, if he could not prevent, the indirect attack upon Prince George through an investigation of the Admiralty.<sup>3</sup> By May, 1704, Godolphin distrusted Whigs and Tories alike, so it was a relief to him to be able to unburden himself to the new member of the ministry, because he was able to appreciate the trying situation. Henceforth, his dependence upon Harley and the queen grew as the Whigs acquired greater stability and better organization. Soon

<sup>1</sup> A great mass of this correspondence is found in the Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588 and 29589, notably folios 279, 335, 369, 395, 402, in the first volume, and folios 76, 81, 395, in the second. Other letters are in S. P. Dom., Anne, III. 6; S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CI. and *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), both *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, ff. 81, 113, 179, 398; *ib.*, 29588, f. 367.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 34-54, 74; Morrison, V. 78. See also *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 43.

the secretary was taken into complete confidence in choosing court officials and determining important ministerial policies.

In this way, not only Godolphin, but the Marlboroughs depended on Harley's efficient support; the latter was throughout this period just as much a colleague of the one as of the others. When the reign was still young, the duke wrote the speaker (Harley) of his intention to withdraw from political, and probably from military affairs as well. This intimacy increased among the three, until together they fought against the "tack" and the "invitation." Most of their co-operation was secret, but even at the beginning, some shrewd politicians looked upon the three as the governing body of England.<sup>1</sup>

Without question, Godolphin's greatest single achievement was the union with Scotland, but next to it in importance was his financing of the war against Louis XIV. His success was due not merely to astute diplomacy, but to his ability also to secure the co-operation of the greedy, disagreeable quintet who governed the destinies of the Whigs. To secure this co-operation he made promises, the fulfilment of which he delayed as long as possible. Conceding here a little, and there a little, he kept the reins of government out of their hands until the time came when their reward could no longer be deferred, even in the face of Marlborough's victories. When reverses instead of victories came, the ministry was obliged to meet the junto's demands. But the queen was as unreasonable as ever about admitting Whigs to any sort of office. In attempting to mediate between Anne and the junto, Godolphin incurred the wrath of both without securing the favor of either.

This was the moment when Godolphin assured the Whigs, infuriated at Trelawny's translation to Win-

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 118-9, 147; James, III. 254-260, *passim*.

chester, that their interests would be consulted in filling the vacant bishoprics at Chester and Exeter. When Anne refused to reconsider her promises, in the face of appeals and threats of resignation on the part of Marlborough and Godolphin, they concluded that Harley, aided by Mrs. Masham, had been secretly supporting her.<sup>1</sup> Despite emphatic denials of the charge by both Anne and the secretary, the latter seemed to be much under suspicion, and his colleagues decided to bring about his dismissal. Yet Harley was so indispensable that Godolphin continued to discuss intimate foreign and domestic matters with him. Among other things he wrote: "The Queen remembers her promise to the Bishop of Rochester, that his brother-in-law should have the first vacant prebendary at Westminster."<sup>2</sup> The lord treasurer was probably fighting for time, as he had already asked Marlborough to return to England at once and make a special appeal to Anne to dismiss the man who had risen to be their dangerous rival in her affections. In this attempt they succeeded, and Harley resigned from the ministry.

In this chapter we have examined the relation of the duchess to affairs of state, and concluded that her influence in public matters was much circumscribed. We have also found that the duke exerted great power over political affairs, but that his real strength lay in the realms of diplomacy and warfare. Domestic problems he consigned largely to Godolphin, who finding himself unequal to the task, brought to his aid the shrewd political acumen of Harley, whose power steadily increased until it threatened to outstrip that of his colleagues in the cabinet.

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 41; *Morrison*, IV. 148; *Coxe*, II. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 182.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FORMATION OF THE "TRIUMVIRATE" (1700-1704)

HAVING finished our study of the influence of the queen in English political affairs from 1702 to 1704, and having examined the relative importance of the Marlboroughs and Godolphin in public affairs during the same period, it next becomes necessary to study the relations existing between these four and another important member of the ministry—Robert Harley. Soon after Anne's accession it became evident that four men were assuming the leading rôles in the government. The Earl of Rochester was the queen's uncle, but his conduct displeased Anne and he was straightway disgraced. Marlborough was not only the leading general, but the husband of Anne's closest friend. Associated with him as lord treasurer and leading minister was Godolphin, whose son had married Marlborough's eldest daughter; while Robert Harley, speaker of the House of Commons, closely co-operated with both of them. The last three, indeed, administered the military, financial, and political affairs of the realm during the first years of the reign, when no real partisan ministry existed. Hitherto, Harley's relations with Marlborough, Godolphin, and the queen have been little studied, and we purpose here to describe his political activity during the first two years of the reign.

Harley came of a leading family of the country gentry, received an excellent education at Shilton, studied law, and was admitted to the Inner Temple the year he

reached his majority. In 1689 he was returned to parliament and was at once appointed one of the commissioners to unite the rival East India companies. In 1694 he aroused the king's wrath by championing the Triennial Bill.<sup>1</sup> Two years later he took the lead in establishing Chamberlain's land bank as a Tory rival of the Bank of England,<sup>2</sup> but the project failed through the hostility of the financial interests, and brought down upon him, though connected with them by marriage, the wrath of these business men.<sup>3</sup>

Harley now became one of the foremost leaders of the Tory opposition. In the celebrated Fenwick case he spoke against the bill of attainder.<sup>4</sup> The following year he moved that the English army be reduced to the quota of 1680. A bill to that effect, after being amended so as to exclude foreigners, passed, much to the dismay of the king, who considered it a direct insult.<sup>5</sup> As one of the commissioners of accounts, Harley persistently opposed Montagu, the leader of the Commons and chief finance minister, while he was also concerned with the inquiry into William's disposal of the confiscated Irish estates, another matter which gave the king no little disquietude. In the impeachment proceedings against

<sup>1</sup> The best contemporary account of Harley's life is the *Memoirs of Edward Harley*, his brother, printed in the *Portl. MSS.*, V. 645-69.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, V. 646; J. E. T. Rogers, *The First Nine Years of the Bank of England*, pp. 50-1; A. Andréadés, *History of the Bank of England*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, III. 522, 557. His first wife was the daughter of Thomas Foley, a prominent Herefordshire gentleman, who had made a fortune in trade, and whose sons, Paul and Thomas, were prominent Tory leaders. Harley succeeded Paul as speaker. *Ib.*, 384, 483, 552, IV. 45; Burnet, IV. 197. See also *The Life, Birth, and Character of Harley*.

<sup>4</sup> *Py. Hist.*, V. 1104; Macaulay, *Hist.*, pp. 2665-8.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from L'Hermitage to Heinsius, Rijks Archief, 10 December, 1697; P. Grimblot, *Letters of William III and Louis XIV.*, I. 147-9; *Ed. Rev.*, CLXXXVII. 159.

Somers and Montagu, he wished to carry a vote of censure before the charges against the ministers could be read, and so strong was his following that the motion was lost by only thirty-six votes.<sup>1</sup> Harley continually opposed the ministry either from principle or from "not being considered at the Revolution as he thought he deserved."<sup>2</sup> When William grew weary of the arrogant Whigs, the Tories came into power for a short time, and the king was attracted towards the young Tory who had given him so much trouble. Indeed, the two became reconciled and Harley aided William in carrying out some of his most cherished plans.

Thus Harley, from his first year in parliament, earned an enviable reputation for intelligence and political acumen, while his letters during the last years of the reign are filled with matters of political significance. St. John, Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Godolphin, Nottingham, Musgrave, Rochester, and even that perennial intriguer, Sunderland, were his confidential correspondents; and some of them thought that their communications were sufficiently important to necessitate the use of a difficult cipher, to which, unfortunately, no complete key has ever been found.<sup>3</sup>

Just what the policies of these men were it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say, as the political policies of Godolphin and Sunderland were usually obscure,<sup>4</sup> but it

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, p. 2952. See also *Portl. MSS.*, III. 612; E. S. Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 26; W. C. Townshend, *Memoirs of the House of Commons* (2d ed.), II. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, IV. 470; J. H. Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England*, II. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 51-7; *Portl. MSS.*, III. 625, IV. 4. The cipher was in use over a year. Proof of the importance attached to it is found in a letter to Harley: "You may be assured that I burn all your letters . . . as I desire you to do the same with mine." *Portl. MSS.*, III. 627. Roger Coke and Henry Guy were other regular correspondents. *Ib.*, 467, sq. For a time Harley was friendly with Burnet. H. C. Foxcroft, *Supplement to Burnet*, pp. ix-x.

<sup>4</sup> Probably they were only preparing to pass the Act of Settlement, but

is certain that they were drawn closely together in their scheming, and that both Sunderland and Godolphin learned enough of Harley's ability to awaken their respect. Both of the latter, as well as Seymour, Rochester, and the king himself, were vitally interested in the first election of 1701, and urged Harley to become a candidate for the speakership, in order that the controverted elections, which were exceptionally important in this parliament, might be skilfully handled.<sup>1</sup> With such support from Godolphin and the others, Harley was readily chosen to preside over the lower house.

Having been elected, he accepted the office and plunged into the midst of the political fray in the Commons with enthusiasm. The Kentish petition was presented to this parliament and the harsh treatment accorded the petitioners by the lower house led Defoe to write *Legion's Memorial*, copies of which he may have delivered to Harley in person. The speaker's management of election cases must have given satisfaction, for his popularity increased. He was as much interested in the second election of 1701 as he had been in the first,<sup>2</sup> and the Commons at once re-elected him speaker, although by the slender majority of four in a crowded house—a result which may

there is no doubt that most of them, like Marlborough, worked with the alternative of a Stuart Restoration in mind.

<sup>1</sup> C. J., XIII. 325; James, III. 143. "When you come hither you will find a great deal more noise of the briberies and violence in several places. Your friends do think that if 104 [Harley] were here now it would be but time enough for many important things; but 79 [Rochester] and 78 [Godolphin] are positive that if he is not here a week before the 6<sup>th</sup> Feb. it will be of ill consequence. . . . I have since been with 67 [the King] who has most earnestly enquired when 104 would come. And tho 79 and 78 enjoined me this morning to press 440 [Harley] to come, yet this afternoon they sent me a letter to press me to it effectually." Letter to Harley, *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 14. See also *ib.*, 13; Townshend, *Memoirs of House of Commons*, I. 84; A. I. Dasent, *Speakers of the House of Commons*, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Coke *MSS.*, II. 443; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 28.

have been due to William's lack of support, or open opposition.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the Whigs were again in power in the new house, which had been elected after Louis XIV's recognition of the Pretender. Led by the junto, this party wished to defeat Harley. To counterbalance them, Somerset, and probably Shrewsbury as well, aided materially in forwarding the candidacy of the man whom they were later to disgrace.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after his re-election, Harley found himself overwhelmed with work. For months it had been realized that the king was failing rapidly, and that speedy arrangements must be made for guaranteeing the succession. After the Duke of Gloucester's death in 1700, this need was imperative, because when William died, only the life of Anne seemed to stand between Great Britain and anarchy, while James II looked expectantly across the Channel. Such a situation led to the passage of the Act of Settlement,<sup>3</sup> providing for the succession to the throne of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her Protestant descendants. Even after this had been accomplished, parliament had much to do before England could be assured that Anne would quietly assume the crown.<sup>4</sup>

Fully as urgent were the demands of foreign war. William III had brought about the Grand Alliance, but before all arrangements could be completed he passed

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XIII. 645; Luttrell, V. 125. A contemporary says that William was "easy at it." Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 18.

<sup>2</sup> James, III. 143; Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Harley's part in passing this act may be conjectured from Godolphin's letter to him. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 4. See *ib.*, III. 627-32, IV. 22.

<sup>4</sup> The Abjuration Bill was the most important measure passed by this parliament, but it was passed so late that the king was too weak to sign it, so he used a stamp instead. Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29595, f. 270. It was rumored that the king refused to sign the bill and the stamp was employed after his death. Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 28588, f. 18. See *Annals of King George* [I], I. 17.



away, leaving his plans to be carried out by Marlborough, who excelled him as much in military genius as he fell below him in character. It was well for England at this juncture that Marlborough, Godolphin, and Harley enjoyed the queen's confidence, for as a result of their co-operation, military preparations continued apace after William's death.<sup>1</sup>

During the arrangements for Anne's accession, Harley had impressed the members of the Commons with his ability as a parliamentary manager and tactician. His usefulness was most apparent, however, to Marlborough and Godolphin, who realized that his services in the impending election were indispensable, as both were thoroughly aware of their own lack of electioneering ability. Harley, on his part, was perfectly willing to work with them, since no colleagues more to his liking were then in places of power, and he saw "no difference between a mad Whig and a mad Tory."<sup>2</sup>

Several months passed before the pollings began. Meanwhile, the old parliament had to go on, and there was still need for Harley's services. "You were pleased to tell me today in the House of Commons that what the Queen was to speak from the throne, was to be to the same purpose with that she said at the [Privy] Council," wrote Godolphin the day of Anne's accession. "I wish you could have time to make a draft of it yourself, and appoint us to come to your house to night to show the draft. You may speak to whom you like to have there."<sup>3</sup>

This last remark seems to refer to the select group which is sometimes spoken of as the "inner cabinet," and probably consisted of Marlborough, Godolphin,

<sup>1</sup> Rijks Archief, 26A, Marlborough to the States-General, March 18, 1702; Von Noorden, I. 193; P. C. Reg., LXXIX. 113-4.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XLI. 22; Thomson, I. 372.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 34; *cf.* 33.

Harley, Rochester, Somerset, and perhaps a few others.<sup>1</sup> Two months later, Godolphin wrote Harley another confidential note which clearly indicated the close understanding that existed between the first three.<sup>2</sup> Two weeks more had scarcely passed before the speaker received a letter concerning another secret conference with the lord treasurer, apropos of the queen's speech proroguing parliament. Almost at the same moment, Godolphin provided for a secret meeting between Anne and Harley,<sup>3</sup> probably to discuss plans for the ensuing elections. For a few weeks thereafter, both men were engrossed in looking after the patronage and preparing for the election. While at Bath that autumn with the court, Godolphin prepared a rough draft of Anne's speech to her first parliament, which he sent to Harley, asking for "remarks and observations upon it with all freedom." The speaker's suggestions were immediately returned and Godolphin promised "to observe the hints." A year later, Harley was again requested "to prepare the heads of what is proper to be said to the Parliament."<sup>4</sup>

In the election, the speaker fulfilled all the expectations of Marlborough and Godolphin. He or his agents seem to have been everywhere. Even before the dissolution, Harley himself visited some of the assizes, urging an early session of parliament.<sup>5</sup> The elections were hard

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 33, 39. The last two were soon dropped from the group.

<sup>2</sup> "The Queen designs to be at the House to morrow to pass the bills. I was told you had thoughts of coming to see Lord Marlborough this night, who is not yet well. I hope to be with him before nine. In case you design him that favor, it may be necessary to let him or me know it, that orders may be given for your seeing him." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 38. See also *ib.*, 33, 39; *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 47, 48, 72. Consult 53-4.

<sup>5</sup> Morrison, V. 148; Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 3-4; Burnet, V. 48.

fought,<sup>1</sup> but the Tories, encouraged by the queen's predilections and open favor, won a considerable majority and Harley was again chosen speaker.

In that troubled period, it was a real achievement for a man to be thrice selected for this coveted political honor, but Harley's ability to direct the deliberations of the Commons was so manifest that there had been no question about his selection in 1702. It was, in one sense, the just reward of an adroit political manager, who was placed in a most important office in the government. Although the House of Commons had not acquired the preponderance of power it was to exert a generation later, Harley's work as speaker tended unquestionably to add to its prestige,<sup>2</sup> not merely because of the power he exercised as presiding officer of the Commons, but mainly because he used the office as a point of vantage from which to carry into effect his political schemes.

At the beginning of the war, foreign affairs were of superlative importance. For the first two years, Harley's influence here was small, although steadily growing, for this phase of government was taken care of by Marlborough, with increasing assistance from Godolphin, as the burden of military operations became greater. The international situation was full of difficulties which were augmented beyond measure by the factious attitude of such Tory leaders as Rochester, who insisted that it was not England's quarrel, and like many political leaders of all ages, argued that his country might easily make money out of the war, if she did not join as an active combatant on land. This attitude of the Highfliers

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 21; Luttrell, V. 159; Harley was particularly interested in the Herefordshire election which he termed a four-day riot. Morri-  
son, V. 77-8. The number of controverted elections was exceptionally large.  
*C. J.*, XIV., *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See J. A. Manning, *Speakers of the House of Commons*; Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, I. 446.

caused the greatest alarm among Dutch statesmen, whose fears were, however, dissipated by Anne's straightforward letters to the States-General, and her immediate dispatch of Marlborough to Holland as a special envoy.<sup>1</sup> Yet neither move made the task of the ministerial leaders any easier in parliament. Harley needed all his skill in the Commons to keep the hot-headed Tories and Jacobites from complicating the situation, not only with Holland but with the other allies. Jersey, one of the most rabid of their number, protested vigorously because his colleague, Nottingham, had approved of Prince Eugene's visiting London. He said that the invitation was the work of Count Wratislaw, the imperial envoy, and he insisted that the Whigs thought by this method to gain more money in England for the Grand Alliance.<sup>2</sup>

As the years of the war dragged on, taxes grew heavier because of the failure of Holland and the Empire to live up to their promises, and the cry of the landed gentry became louder when no decisive victory was gained to force France to her knees. Anne indignantly remonstrated with the Dutch because their quota of troops was lacking<sup>3</sup> and similar remissness by Austria furnished an excuse for bitter attacks upon the ministry, keeping the speaker on the *qui vive* to prevent outbreaks which smacked of disloyalty to their allies.

Even more dangerous to the peace of mind of the ministry were the Jacobite plans in favor of the Pretender. Marlborough and Godolphin were kindly disposed, personally, towards Prince James, whose father they had helped to exile, but the difficulty of dealing with the

<sup>1</sup> Rijks Archief, lias 6937, ff. 107, 119, 121; Von Noorden, I. 206. The Duke of Albemarle said that some Tories did not expect Anne to declare war. L'Hermitage, however, had no such fears. Rijks Archief, 26A.

<sup>2</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Rijks Archief, lias 6938, f. 1309.

Jacobites was immeasurably increased, since the queen would not believe that their number was sufficiently large for them to attempt to force Catholicism upon England.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the ministers had to exercise great tact lest their attitude towards the Pretender might offend his royal sister, and at the same time prejudice their own cause with one who might later become their sovereign. Harley was fully aware of this danger, and did much to keep the question in the background.<sup>2</sup>

Anne's extreme sensitiveness as to the succession best appears from her treatment of the Hanoverian family. A long, dreary correspondence took place to decide whether Winchelsea, the queen's envoy, should upon his presentation, kiss the hand of the Electress Sophia. It was finally decided in the affirmative, not that Anne wished to show so much favor to the Hanoverian family, but because previous English envoys had established a precedent.<sup>3</sup> Both the Whigs and the Tories displayed a similar nervousness in discussing the advisability of inviting a member of this house to reside in England, and Harley needed to be always alert to prevent peevish members of the Commons from reflecting upon the Hanoverians.

Trouble also arose over another provision of the Act of Settlement, requiring all important acts of the Privy Council to be countersigned by five members. Harley found a way out, however, by repealing that section of the act,<sup>4</sup> thus permitting the ministry to exercise full administrative power, while removing from the ministers the future danger of impeachment, which might arise when another party came into power.

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 52; Macpherson, I. 623.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CI. 309; S. P. For., German States, CLX. *passim*; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29588, ff. 193, 275, 285.

<sup>4</sup> W. M. Torrens, *History of Cabinets*, pp. 40-2.

The negotiation of the union with Scotland was long under consideration, although Anne had steadily urged the necessity of it. Measures had been taken to dismiss the Duke of Queensberry from William's service, but Anne wisely re-appointed him a commissioner for securing the union.<sup>1</sup> In 1703, there was a conspiracy in Scotland against the English government, but the queen had such complete, detailed knowledge of it that the only tangible result of the "Scotch Plot" was a quarrel between the two houses,<sup>2</sup> over their respective jurisdictions, in which the speaker, of course, took a conspicuous part in defending the rights of the Commons.

Harley was most useful in promoting the union. Early in the reign, he was in constant communication with Scotland through the Scottish statesman and divine, William Carstares, and soon had such efficient agents as Defoe and Greg working under his direction, while Ogilvie and Paterson acted as confidential representatives of Godolphin and Harley respectively.<sup>3</sup> The combined result of their industry gave the English ministers full and accurate information of the attitude of the Scots towards the union.

Until 1704, the speaker's part in foreign affairs indicates that his influence was mainly indirect,<sup>4</sup> except in

<sup>1</sup> *Culloden Papers*, p. 29; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 7; *House of Lords* (n. s.), VI. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Hatton-Finch Papers, Add. MSS., 29587, ff. 124-36; Add. MSS., 20311, *passim*; Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34526, f. 80B.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, VIII. 111, 299, 314, *sq.* The Earl of Seafield was the personal representative of Godolphin, although his correspondence with Harley was extensive. See his *Letters relating to Scotland in the Reign of Anne*.

<sup>4</sup> Harley's influence was sometimes direct. Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 2-4. Diplomats were much pleased at his appointment as secretary of state. Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7077, f. 26. During the opening months of the reign, Nottingham was the leading secretary of state, but an examination of his correspondence, both official and private, in the Nottingham Papers leads the writer to the same conclusion about Godolphin as

Scotland. All evidence shows that he was essentially a domestic statesman, with little inherent liking or interest for diplomacy. Under William he had shown great interest in finance, which did not lessen in Anne's reign, but here again, his influence was at first mainly by indirection, as his suggestions were made to Godolphin.<sup>1</sup> Marlborough, of course, supervised military affairs, although he depended upon Godolphin to secure the money to prosecute the war. To outline revenue measures was not sufficient, since such measures had to be drafted into bills, and then passed through parliament. The enormous appropriations of the period bear witness to Harley's success in piloting money bills, such as the land tax, through the Commons. In the elections, Harley was probably at his best, although in the whole realm of domestic politics, his relations with Marlborough, Godolphin, and the queen grew more intimate.<sup>2</sup> Godolphin and Harley were constantly in consultation, and whenever military affairs permitted, Marlborough joined them. The speaker was early in the reign admitted into the *sanctum sanctorum*. Before the end of Anne's first year on the throne, Godolphin wrote to Harley: "Sunday ought to be a day of rest to all people, and you, particularly; and yet I find by the Duke of Marlborough as well

that reached by Sir James Mackintosh after he had studied the Blenheim Papers, now inaccessible. This historian records the impression that Godolphin "takes more part in foreign politics than I thought." Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34513, f. 164. Nottingham apparently did little more than carry out Godolphin's orders. S. P. Dom., German States, CLX. *passim*; Nottingham Papers, 29588, ff. 352-4.

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, VIII. 96; IV. 18, 22, *sq.*; Roscoe, *Harley*, pp. 15, 22. Harley had put Godolphin in touch with Paterson. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 3-7. These letters, as well as those in the *Portl. MSS.*, IV., show that Harley's correspondence covers the whole gamut of political affairs, and that he was never prodigal in his recommendations to Godolphin. See Macaulay, pp. 2808-9; L. Von Ranke, *Eng. Hist.*, V. 347.

as by myself that we should very much desire to see you at my house to morrow before five." The time set was an hour before the regular weekly meeting of the cabinet council, and the purpose evidently was to perfect their plans for that session. Soon Godolphin insisted that the three should hold special semi-weekly consultations. "Besides these meetings and those agreed upon last night to be at your house," he wrote, "it is necessary above all the rest that the Duke . . . you and I should meet regularly at least twice a week, if not oftener, to advise upon everything that shall occur; and if you give me leave to propose let Saturday evening at the same time and place be the first meeting."<sup>1</sup> One evening Harley and Godolphin apparently quarreled while in their cups. The next morning the latter hastened to apologize, adding: "I have full power from my Lord M[arlborough] to leave this matter wholly in your hands to give it the form to morrow, which you think will be least disrespectful to the Queen."<sup>2</sup> Marlborough's intimacy with Harley at this time is also shown in a long letter discussing the bitterness of political strife. "I am sensibly concerned at what you mention of the heats between the two parties," he said, "and should esteem it the greatest happiness of my life if I could anyway contribute toward allaying them. . . . I must add without a complaint, that my greatest ease and satisfaction is in the hopes I have for the Lord Treasurer's and your abilities and prudent management of these affairs wherein upon my return I shall be ready to

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, V. 58, 75. In the second letter, Godolphin begged Harley "to be careful that neither of our names be mentioned, as to our knowledge of the least tittle of the discourse betwixt Lord Nottingham and Sir Christopher Musgrave as to the conversation his lordship had with the Queen." See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 57, and *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 54, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 53-4. See also A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 224.



give my assistance and to be solely governed by yours and his lordship's good advice."<sup>1</sup>

When the Commons stubbornly opposed a pension to Marlborough in 1702, Godolphin at once appealed to Harley, and it was Harley also who took in hand the first Occasional Conformity Bill. "I hear the gentlemen will meet at your house without the Lords, and endeavour to agree upon what shall be done tomorrow," wrote the lord treasurer, and he begged Harley to inform Marlborough of their decision at once. The speaker so arranged matters in the Commons that the bill providing a separate allowance for Prince George, should he outlive the queen, did not interfere with other appropriations which were distasteful to the gentry.<sup>2</sup> In other ways his services were absolutely necessary if the Highfliers were to be beaten. Godolphin later requested him to summon the leading Commoners to meet with Marlborough and himself at the home of Boyle, an important Whig, to discuss measures preparatory to a struggle in the Lords over the third Occasional Conformity Bill.<sup>3</sup> Even then, it took all the political ingenuity of Godolphin, as head of the ministry, and of Harley, as speaker, to guide ministerial measures safely through the maze of political intrigue, and at the same time defeat the schemes of their opponents.

Godolphin placed an entire dependence upon the "Speaker who is very industrious, and has found things two or three several ways, which may chance to make some of them uneasy."<sup>4</sup> Already the duke was under obligations to Harley for informing him of Nottingham's

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 53-4; Coxe, I. 103; Wyon, I. 144. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 57-60.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe, I. 312. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 118; Wyon, I. 239.

quiet machinations, which were sufficiently serious to bring about his dismissal early in 1704. After this, the trio worked in peace, as their greatest menace was gone with the elimination of High Churchmen from the ministry. Harley's system of intelligence was not neglected, however, and constantly brought valuable results.

The same confidential co-operation is discerned between Harley and Godolphin in their treatment of Defoe, who first came into prominence in 1701 by writing *Legion's Humble Address*. He may possibly have known Harley at the time, as he was never punished for this daring attack upon the Commons, although Anne offered a reward for the apprehension of the printer. Almost at once, the speaker suggested to the lord treasurer that it would be of "great service to have some discreet writer of the Government's side, if it were only to state facts right; for the generality err for want of knowledge, and being imposed upon by the storys raised by ill-designing men."<sup>1</sup> He probably had in mind Defoe, who at once wrote *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity*, setting forth views similar to those held by Harley and the queen.<sup>2</sup> Within a few weeks Defoe produced *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, and awoke to find himself famous.<sup>3</sup> His real purpose was to discredit the High-fliers, but his sarcasm was too subtle for these zealous Anglicans, who applauded the spirit of intolerance there manifested. When the hoax was eventually discovered, he had good reasons to bewail his notoriety, as Nottingham immediately issued a warrant for his arrest, in spite

<sup>1</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, f. 7; Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> D. H. Stevens says that their relations began "soon after the crowning of Anne," but his evidence is scarcely convincing. *Party Politics and English Journalism*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Defoe published this tract, according to Wright, "with the hearty approval of the Whig leaders, of whom Harley was *facile princeps*." *Defoe*, p. 67.

of the fact that he had written the day before, apologizing for his concealment, begging the queen's mercy, and agreeing to serve as a volunteer if pardoned.<sup>1</sup>

The High Churchmen had decided to make an example of him, and he was eventually imprisoned despite his efforts to prevent capture.<sup>2</sup> Not long before, he had apparently asked Paterson to sound Harley as to his attitude.<sup>3</sup> Nottingham was fully convinced that Defoe had accomplices, and probably suspecting Harley, was anxious to secure a confession from the writer. It is not clear that the speaker was implicated, but he unquestionably labored hard for Defoe's release. His friend, William Penn, informed both Godolphin and the Duke of Buckingham that Defoe would confess everything. This so pleased the queen that she called a meeting of the cabinet council to discuss the case.<sup>4</sup> She was convinced, however, that his testimony amounted to "nothing," but was willing to leave the matter to the "Lords of the Committee to let the sentence be executed tomorrow, or not till after Sunday [the next meeting of the cabinet council] if they think proper."<sup>5</sup> A week later Defoe stood for his first time in the pillory. Expecting such punishment to break his spirit, Nottingham and Buckingham waited upon him in prison, and promised him his freedom, if he would betray his confederates. He refused, but Harley was now moved to interfere actively in his behalf, and suggested to Godolphin that Defoe was too valuable a man for the ministry to permit to remain in prison, because "if his fine be satisfied without any other knowl-

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom., Anné, II. 27; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 61; *London Gazette*, 10 January, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-1703), p. 726; "An Unpublished Letter of Defoe," *E. H. R.*, XXII. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 628; Burton, I. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 44.

edge but . . . that it is the Queen's bounty to him and grace, he may do service, and this may engage him better than any after rewards and keep him more under the power of an obligation." "I have found it proper to read some paragraphs of your letter to the Queen," replied Godolphin. "What you propose about Defoe may be done when you will and how you will."<sup>1</sup> In this way the High-fliers were outwitted and Defoe released from prison at the close of 1703.<sup>2</sup>

Harley's actions were not wholly unselfish. He was "planning for his own political advancement, and having a clearer conception than any other statesman of the period of the important part the press might be made to play in politics"<sup>3</sup> he realized how powerful an influence could be exerted in public affairs by this talented, industrious writer. Pamphlets and poems were all well enough, but a periodical would be better, and it was probably at Harley's suggestion that the *Review* was begun soon after Defoe left Newgate.<sup>4</sup> The influence of this paper upon politics was very large, but its author was at the same time writing far more than his share of the controversial pamphlets of the day. He stands a living marvel of what untiring industry can accomplish in letters.

Defoe, however, was useful in other ways. To secure most necessary information as to the political tempera-

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 68; *Marlb. MSS.*, 43; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, ff. 28, 45; Wright, *Defoe*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> See articles by Professor W. P. Trent, in the *Nation* (N. Y.), LXXXIV. 515, LXXXV. 29, 180. Defoe's letter to Harley, 9 November, thanking him for "his bounty," would indicate that he might have been free at that time. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 75.

<sup>3</sup> W. P. Trent, *Defoe; How to Know Him*, p. 60; Chalmers, *Defoe*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Their communications were necessarily secret. See Bateson, "The Relation of Defoe and Harley," *E. H. R.*, XV. 241-3; W. D. Rannie, *Defoe*, p. 39.

ture of England, Harley engaged this sleepless observer, who traveled over the island in search of political information. Within a few months, Godolphin desired from him the names and addresses of Londoners carrying on designs in favor of the Pretender, and wished to relieve Harley of the expenses incident to Defoe's varied activities, which had already proved so helpful to the ministers.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Defoe's services were invaluable in the elections of 1705, and in the negotiations for the union, as well as in other important political matters.<sup>2</sup>

The early career of Defoe indicates the close co-operation of Harley and Godolphin in the most important public affairs, and it may readily be assumed that Marlborough also approved of their employing so gifted a pamphleteer and journalist. However confidential the relations of Harley with the duke and lord treasurer may have been, his political influence would depend ultimately upon his enjoyment of the queen's confidence. Although he had written many of her earlier speeches, that in itself would not necessarily mean that she trusted him, unless we had other reasons for knowing that he stood high in Anne's favor. It was practically inevitable that one who held the confidence of Marlborough and Godolphin should see a great deal of the queen, but when that man was speaker and enjoyed personal access to his sovereign by virtue of his position, such intercourse becomes a certainty. Yet, these opportunities for meeting her were soon found insufficient, and before the reign was six months old, Harley was interviewing her by way of the backstairs.

It has been urged again and again that the speaker owed his rise in Anne's favor to his relations with Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 155; *Wyon*, I. 139; *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, IX. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 61, 64; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 83, 137; *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, VI. 88, 106. See an "Unpublished Letter of Defoe," *E. H. R.*, XXII. 132, sq.

Masham, her favorite. This position is untenable, because Harley's secret meetings with the queen began two years before Abigail enjoyed Anne's patronage; moreover, in the earlier years of the reign, Anne was actually jealous of this woman's intimacy with the Duchess of Marlborough.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the friendship of Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman had not yet been strained by their differences over politics and religion or by the latter's frequent absences from court.

The friendship of the queen materially strengthened Harley's position. Another way of testing his importance in political affairs is to ascertain what power he exerted over the patronage during these years. Anne had scarcely ascended the throne when the Highfliers began to importune for office, and Godolphin complained to Harley of the unreasonableness of Jersey and Sir Christopher Musgrave. Paterson was recommended to the lord treasurer's consideration and at first received marked attention. Dr. Davenant was anxious for some preferment, and his case was discussed by the speaker and Godolphin; Harley's brother was amply rewarded for political services by the lucrative appointment of "Auditor of the imprests for life"; Penn desired a commission in the navy for a friend; Dr. Sacheverell was recommended by Harley's brother-in-law; Harcourt informed the speaker that his Tory friends were eager for office and wished to know if any sweeping alterations in court officials would take place before the end of the war. These are but few instances of Harley's activity concerning civil appointments during the early months of the reign.<sup>2</sup> Vernon, former secretary of state, wrote his

<sup>1</sup> See the queen's letter printed in Reid, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 39-83, *passim*. See also *ib.*, VIII. 96-119, *passim*. Davenant secured the important office of inspector-general of imports and exports.

patron, Shrewsbury, asking that he use his influence with Harley to obtain for him some relief, as he had just been deprived of his office. If Vernon believed the importance of the speaker to be as great as is indicated by his writing such a letter to Shrewsbury, then at Rome, and following it up with others, insisting upon Shrewsbury's intervention, the probabilities are that he was right. Indeed, Vernon attributed his success to Shrewsbury's intercession with Harley,<sup>1</sup> whose recommendation of a man soon became equivalent to an appointment, as he had the support of Anne and Godolphin.<sup>2</sup> The consent of both was the more easily secured because each well knew that Harley did not, like many of his associates, traffic in places for financial gain.<sup>3</sup> They felt that they could trust him to dispose of vacancies to the best political advantage, although the lord treasurer little realized that he was utilizing this opportunity to build up a personal following.<sup>4</sup> Being dependent upon Harley, it was natural that Godolphin should grant him an increasing amount of power in disposing of the crown patronage.

The conspicuous part taken by Harley in elections presupposes a considerable power over appointments also;

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XIII. 146-54; *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 44; *Portl. MSS.*, VIII. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 99. See also *Bath MSS.* (I. 73), for the case of the two men who were seeking through the influence of Harley and Godolphin to be made baronets. Both succeeded. *Angliæ Notitia* (1708), p. 669.

<sup>3</sup> Early in the reign, Anne ordered that no place be sold. From the *Cal. Tr. Papers* (1702-1707), p. 289, we learn that Cardonel, Marlborough's secretary, asked Godolphin for permission to dispose of a "court post," which he had purchased. The reply is interesting: "The Lord Treasurer conceives there is intended to be pecuniary considerations for the parting with this place and her Majesty has made an order that no place be sold."

<sup>4</sup> Harley made no profession of his influence, always referring requests to Godolphin in such a way that they could scarcely be refused. This apparent humility deceived the lord treasurer. See *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*.

for usually no votes were gained, and no candidates elected to parliament without the liberal use of money or patronage. Outside of western England and Wales his political influence was best exerted among the urban trading classes and this greatly weakened the Whigs. In other words, Harley made Godolphin's hold upon this class secure, for "as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of those, who espoused the cause, in which the ministry were then engaged, it is no wonder that . . . Godolphin began to pay them as much regard as the time and the *Queen's* prejudices would permit him to do."<sup>1</sup>

In ecclesiastical affairs also, Harley's part was direct and important. The annoyances and intricacies of ecclesiastical problems were so great that Godolphin was usually willing to give Harley complete charge of particularly trying cases, so that in time he apparently assumed the leading rôle in the ministry in determining church appointments. He successfully championed the claims of Trelawny, Atterbury, and Hooper for preferments, and probably knew more about the queen's selections for the bishoprics of Chester and Exeter than he chose to confess.<sup>2</sup> His influence in dealing with the non-conformists was equally noteworthy. On one occasion, the dissenting clergy, under the leadership of the learned and influential Dr. Calamy, decided to present an address to the queen. In debating as to who should introduce them, the names of Harley and Sunderland were suggested and the latter selected. Sunderland, when waited

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 173, 175. He also furthered the cause of Dr. Hooper. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 50, 63, 72. But even he, through ceaseless importuning when chief minister, was unable to gain so much as an Irish bishopric for Swift, who was so objectionable to the queen. Consult the *Journal to Stella*, *passim*. For additional information as to Harley's activity in church matters, see *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 53-92, *passim*; *Bath MSS.*, I. 52, 57.



upon, insisted that Godolphin was the proper man for the task. To this the latter agreed, but it was observed that Harley was with Godolphin when the committee called, and as he passed through the group of clergymen, covertly conveyed the idea that he had arranged things for them. To his efforts, therefore, they attributed the fact that they received better treatment from the queen than ever before. A certain Cunningham later interviewed Dr. Calamy as to the best method of treating the dissenting leaders. Upon strict questioning, he finally confessed that he came at the suggestion of Godolphin and Harley,<sup>1</sup> both of whom felt that the ministry could retain its influence only by enlisting the intelligent support of the Dissenters, whose financial power was rapidly growing.

While gaining the secret support of the non-conformists, Harley and Godolphin could not afford to lose the aid of the Anglican clergy. In securing this, Harley was most successful. A Presbyterian himself, he favored toleration for the Dissenters and by his influence with the queen gained an ascendancy over the High Church Tories, who were bitterly opposed to Marlborough and Godolphin. Harley's rôle in defeating the Occasional Conformity Bill seems to have been so cleverly concealed that the Highfliers never realized the part he played in it. Indeed, the mainspring of Harley's political activity from first to last was secrecy. With all her spies, Lady Marlborough was unable to fathom his plans, or gain any idea, until it was too late, of his influence with Anne and Mrs. Masham. His secretive tendencies were by no means as great as those commonly attributed to Alexander Pope, but they were not confined to speech. Indeed, his secretiveness is so pronounced in some of his important letters that even the initiated can scarcely understand their

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Calamy*, II. 52, 105-7.

import, a characteristic greatly accentuated in his later years by bibulousness. His aim in speech and in writing was to be ambiguous, and in this he fully succeeded.

Harley's part in diplomatic matters was thus far small but increasing; his financial ability was exerted only through the lord treasurer; but his power in political and ecclesiastical affairs, especially with the queen, was large and constantly growing larger until in May, 1704, he became principal secretary of state.

It has been customary to date the beginning of Harley's confidential relationship with Marlborough and Godolphin from this appointment, whereas in reality it extended back to the earlier months of the reign,<sup>1</sup> and no greater argument against the commonly accepted ideas of Harley's mediocrity can be urged than the unlimited confidence which Marlborough and Godolphin placed in him for more than six years. Several reasons prompted his appointment, among them Harley's own insistence that his colleagues request the queen to admit him as an active member of the ministry, if they desired his further co-operation. No doubt Anne was willing, but the duke and the lord treasurer were not so favorable, as they sorely needed him in the speaker's chair, where he could exert far more power than if he were merely a titular member of the government. It is significant that when his persistence was rewarded, the three men decided that he should for a time retain the office of speaker, although it was at least unusual for a cabinet minister to hold two such offices at once. "The great doubt has been," Vernon

<sup>1</sup> Even Harley's biographer, with the *Portland MSS.* at his elbow, has fallen into the same error as the earlier writers, to whom they were inaccessible. "Harley at once [after 1704] became the most trusted and intimate of his [Godolphin's] colleagues upon whose judicious advice in regard to home and foreign affairs, and the many delicate personal matters, it was his practice constantly to rely. Godolphin's confidence in Harley necessarily increased Marlborough's trust in him." Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 39.

wrote to Shrewsbury, "how this is consistent with the speakership, but that is only determinable when the Parliament meets, and it will be incongruous or otherwise, according to the humour they shall be in at their sitting down."<sup>1</sup> Little was said in parliament about the difficulty, and for nearly a year, Harley performed the duties of both offices, greatly to the relief of his political partners.

Fearing that the ministers would be forced from office, Godolphin was seeking every possible aid from him much earlier than 1704. "The great clamours, which I hear are preparing against the management of sea-affairs, must needs be very disagreeable to the Queen, particularly uneasy to the Prince;" he wrote. "In short I expect to see the whole government go to pieces, with no friends to support it but some few in place, and it cannot but vex one to see [the ministry] lost for so trivial an occasion."<sup>2</sup> The speaker was taken into the ministry to assure his loyal support in the lower house, particularly in promoting the union. He probably was not expected to take an important part in other matters, but he was soon found in the midst of all political affairs. In appointing him, Anne was able to rid herself of Nottingham, who had proved rebellious, if not insolent, and at the same time reward a valued servant, who had been of material aid in preparing her speeches. By virtue of his new position, Harley was thrown into closer relations with the queen, and soon stood high in her favor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James, III. 259. Edward Harley said that Godolphin urged his brother to accept the seals. Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 129. William Bromley was both speaker and chancellor of the exchequer. Shrewsbury held three such offices for a season in 1714. Lecky, I. 165.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Chamberlen, p. 280. See also p. 153. Wyon (I. 239) assumes that it was Harley's wisdom and sincerity that gained Marlborough's support. Cf. E. Edwards, *Founders of the British Museum*, p. 209.

Another pressing reason for Harley's promotion lay in the decided unpopularity of Marlborough and Godolphin. The feeling against the duke, even in the hour of victory, is almost unaccountable; but in the spring of 1704, he was far from victorious, and the complaints against the burdens of taxation became threatening. Indeed, his unpopularity then reached its height for the first half of the reign; the Highfliers were deeply incensed by his willingness to dispense with their services and turn to the Whigs; the English masses had never liked him, and in 1702, had made more of Rooke's slight successes around Vigo than they did of his splendid achievements in Flanders; pamphleteers and journalists with pens dipped in bile, found his avarice and his wife's arrogance excellent marks at which to aim.<sup>1</sup> Few historians have realized how near to ruin the ministry was just before the battle of Blenheim. Rowland Gwynne explained the situation as follows: "No king could wish for a more noble opportunity to relieve, not only Germany, but Europe [than Marlborough] is employed upon, or that could be more gloomy for [him]self. If the Elector of Bavaria is reduced, it will stop the mouths of his enemies, and they will not be able to hurt him in England." A week later he added significantly: "The success of the affair [Blenheim] will either gain him a great reputation, and very much shelter him from his enemies (which are not few) or be his ruin."<sup>2</sup> The duchess was clearly uneasy when she learned that Sir Edward Seymour had threatened that the Tory zealots

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 70. The contemporary literature showing the popular dislike of the Marlboroughs is extensive. *The Memorial of the Church of England* is a good example of such tracts. See also Clarke and Foxcraft, *Burnet*, p. 409; W. Carstares, *State Papers*, p. 730; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 137; Coxe, II. 277; Hearne, I. 138, 158, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, ff. 242, 246. See also Macpherson, I. 692; Macaulay, *Essay on Addison*.

“would run him [the duke] down as a pack of hounds do a hare,”<sup>1</sup> for she probably feared the Highfliers would attempt to impeach Marlborough, although nothing was said about the means they intended to employ.

Godolphin was only slightly less unpopular than Marlborough. Anonymous writers sought constantly to annoy him by making covert threats against him and the duke.<sup>2</sup> In July, Gwynne again spoke of the weakness of these two ministers, because they had refused to take a decided stand either for or against the Protestant succession.<sup>3</sup>

Unquestionably, then, Harley's addition to the ministry was timely and strengthened its power. Both his associates were in disfavor, while he was favorably received by people and politicians alike. To the Whigs he appeared as a politician whose liberal principles led him to support the privileges of parliament; to the Tories he seemed the champion of the prerogative. So it was a wise move on the part of the queen to delude the Tories by elevating Harley, one of their number, to a ministerial position, and to moderate the demands of the impudent and presumptuous Whigs by promoting a moderate Tory whom they considered almost a Whig. Godolphin, moreover, seemed unequal to the task of controlling the junto any longer, as he feared both the Whigs and Tories. He even began to despair of retaining the support of such moderate Tories as Harcourt, and leaned more and more upon the obedient secretary, whose letters about important state affairs were now frequently read to Anne.<sup>4</sup> Even Lord Dartmouth bears witness that Godolphin was tottering to his fall before Harley's appointment, and his

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 147-50.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, f. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS., 222, ff. 250-2.

<sup>4</sup> Bath MSS., I. 57-8.

evidence is borne out in part by Dr. James Drake, who asserted that the lord treasurer had become the queen's tool in advancing Whigs to high places.<sup>1</sup>

Some weeks before Harley became secretary, he was sworn of the Privy Council, of which he remained a faithful member for nearly four years.<sup>2</sup> In accepting office, he insisted that his close friends, St. John and Mansell, should enter the ministry with him, thus assuring the weight of his own influence in the cabinet. It was well that he did so, since he was planning to take a positive position. Though at the outset he "was equally trusted by churchmen and dissenters, by Whigs and Tories," that feeling soon wore off and the Tories, in particular, looking upon him as a renegade, sought to drive him from the ministry.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the year 1704 had not ended before boasts were openly made that Harley would soon be thrown out of office. Defoe had frequently heard such reports in traveling through England and Scotland, but the available evidence does not disclose any great danger of his overthrow, while on the other hand, some things indicate that his power mounted steadily throughout the year.

As early as March, Vernon believed that Harley's importance in the government was as great as Godolphin's.<sup>4</sup> A stanch friend, Stanley West, informed Harley the following August that among the masses of the people, the

<sup>1</sup> *Memorial of the Church of England*. Drake insisted that both Marlborough and Godolphin voted the queen's sentiments rather than their own on the Occasional Conformity Bill. *Cf. Life of Calamy*, II. 35.

<sup>2</sup> P. C. Reg., LXXX. 114; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 82-4; Luttrell, V. 418. In the first five months after he was sworn, Harley attended every one of the fourteen meetings, and is enrolled as "speaker" thirteen times and once as "secretary." P. C. Reg., LXXX. *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Vernon insisted that "the Tories lay the late changes to his door, and the Whigs hold themselves in suspense not seeing any advance made toward them." See also Wyon, I. 239; Leadam, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> James, III. 254, 257. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 146-7.

three leading ministers "are called the 'triumvirate.'"<sup>1</sup> The agreement of these two observers is significant and the accuracy of their statements is attested by Defoe, who wrote to Harley: "They call the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Treasurer, and yourself the *triumvirate* who manage the state, and that if this knot [the Occasional Conformity Bill] be broken in the House, they will prevail with the Queen to continue the Duke . . . abroad all winter . . . and so they will easily put by all the scheme of management."<sup>2</sup>

The testimony of these men and the letters of Godolphin and Marlborough already cited indicate clearly the importance of Harley in the councils of the ministry. Moreover they shed some light upon the origins of the cabinet. From a constitutional point of view the evolution of the cabinet is the most important aspect of Anne's reign. Inasmuch as Harley was closely connected with the growth of this feature of parliamentary government, it is necessary here to examine the state of the cabinet, which was slowly taking shape in the early years of the eighteenth century, although at no time attaining the unity and solidarity which we associate with the cabinets of modern times. Under William III, the ministers were advisers to the sovereign and little more. There was no requirement that they even be in substantial agreement upon the most important questions; in fact, the Toleration Act was the only law of consequence upon which the

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 118-9. West added: "You are entirely master of two opposite parties, both think you to be theirs and confide in you as such, to promote their several different interests: whatever distinguishing favour you show to either side, does not lessen your esteem in the other party, 'tis all ascribed to a depth they cannot comprehend, and which they say is peculiar to yourself."

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 147. Harley and Godolphin had some difficulty over the length of the adjournment, but the former had his way, which was the only measure "that has been carried against the Court this session." *Add. MSS.*, 4743, f. 18.

members of his ministry were in complete accord.<sup>1</sup> In the same reign, when Nottingham introduced the Comprehension Bill into the Lords, Shrewsbury and Carmarthen not only refused their support, but indignantly walked out during the first division. The factional opposition of the ministry during the crisis in the criminal prosecutions of 1697 reveals clearly the inchoate state of party organization and indicates that party government as such had not been accepted even by the political leaders. Yet there was in both parties a gradual development of party chiefs who were soon to unite their forces into real parliamentary and political parties. In 1701, however, the doctrine of ministerial responsibility was accepted by neither king nor parliament, as ministers held their offices without regard to adverse majorities in the Commons.<sup>2</sup>

The meetings of the cabinet council were not held under the bond of secrecy, as later; no record of attendance was kept and no member felt any obligation to discuss the policies of his particular department with the others. Somers was the only English minister who was informed of the negotiation and conclusion of the Partition Treaty in 1700.<sup>3</sup> Not even a majority of the ministry knew anything about it, and at the occasional meetings of the members few were aware exactly what topics were to be discussed. The responsibility of the ministers was individual and personal, and rested with the king, although the dismissal of Somers was a sign of change.<sup>4</sup> At least as early as the Restoration, executive and admin-

<sup>1</sup> W. M. Torrens, *Hist. of the Cabinets*, pp. 4-7.

<sup>2</sup> A contemporary account of the quarrel of the Lords and Commons over their relation to the ministry is given in Swift's *Dissensions in Athens and Rome*.

<sup>3</sup> Mahon, I. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Turberville, *The House of Lords in the Reign of William III*, p. 244; Torrens, *op. cit.*, I. 19-21. Cf. Blauvelt, *Development of Cabinet Govern-*



istrative functions in England had been exercised under the king, by a small number of the abler and more trusted councillors. This select group is spoken of under various names, such as cabal, cabinet, and committee, and is well recognized in the reign of Charles II, and firmly established by the time of William III. In Anne's reign the name "cabinet council" is used again and again,<sup>1</sup> and the membership in that body must have been well established and extremely important or the junto would not have toiled for months to persuade the queen to admit one of their number to it without any place in the ministry.<sup>2</sup> No official minutes were kept of these meetings, which were considered of so great importance by the public men of the time.

These more or less regular sessions of the cabinet council must not be confused with the secret meetings of the "lords of the committee" or "committee of the council." This last group was made up of the more important members of the cabinet council, although other persons in the government were often called in consultation. In general it was a more select group than the cabinet council and held its meetings usually just before the more formal sessions of the larger body. These "lords of the committee" deliberated without the queen, who nearly always attended the cabinet council during the first eight years of the reign. Their purpose was to

*ment*, pp. 89, *sq.* Leslie Stephen says that "It had not yet come to be understood that the cabinet was to be a mere committee of the House of Commons, the personal wishes of the sovereign, and the alliances and jealousies of the great courtiers, were still highly important factors in the political situation; as indeed, both the composition and subsequent behaviour of the Commons, could be controlled to a considerable extent by legitimate and other influences of the Crown." *Life of Swift*, p. 65.

<sup>1</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, ff. 402, 628, and *passim*. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), pp. 51, 103, 185, 239, and *passim*; [Defoe], *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 219; Add. MSS., 4743, f. 17; Lecky, II. 137.

prepare their plans for the meeting of the cabinet council, and it is to this group that the term "cabinet" has been applied. The "lords of the committee" were, perhaps, a committee of the Privy Council, and it was probably this body which, under the name of Lords Justices, governed the realm during the absences of the king.

The modern cabinet seems, therefore, to have a triple origin: as, cabinet council, "lords of the committee," and lords justices, all of them made up of a limited number of prominent officials. Although the most influential men in the government were members of the Privy Council, the cabinet council, and the "cabinet," a select few gradually tended to monopolize administration as "lords of the committee." This clique rarely consisted of more than a half dozen or so, but, acting as a sort of "inner cabinet," they outlined their policies for presentation to the regular meetings of the cabinet council, which in turn generally referred important measures decided upon to the Privy Council for formal ratification. At that time there was no clear line of demarkation between an inner cabinet as represented by the "lords of the committee" and an outer cabinet as indicated by the cabinet council. Contemporaries probably thought of them not as two distinct bodies, but more or less as informal and formal meetings of the same group, since they had so many members in common.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The entire subject is very complex, but many of the difficulties are explained by Professor E. R. Turner in the following articles: "The Development of the Cabinet, 1688-1760," *A. H. R.*, XVII. 751-68, XIX. 27-43; "Committees of Council and Cabinet, 1660-1688," *ib.*, XIX. 772-93; "The Lords Justices of England, 1695-1755," *E. H. R.*, XXIX. 453-76; "The Privy Council of 1679," *ib.*, XXX. 251-70; "Committees of the Privy Council, 1688-1760," *ib.*, XXXI. 545-72; "The Cabinet in the Eighteenth Century," *ib.*, XXXII. 192-203. See also W. R. Anson, "The Cabinet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *ib.*, XXIX. 56-78, and "The Development of the Cabinet, 1688-1760," *ib.*, 325-7; Temperley, "Queen and Outer Cabinet and Privy Council, 1679-1783," *ib.*, XXVI. 682; "A Note on

Thus, in a constitutional sense, Queen Anne governed with the aid of her ministers taken individually, with her cabinet council, generally made up of the same ministers acting collectively, or through the "lords of the committee," which sometimes sat without her, a body technically distinct from the cabinet council, but composed of many of the same men acting as privy councillors in committee, which prepared business for consideration in the cabinet council. These leading officials of the government, not constituting at this time a fixed body or in their triple capacity always composed of the same ministers, gradually became the controlling executive and administrative force in the kingdom, destined eventually to supersede the king himself in the management of affairs.

In 1704, Anne was aided by a select group, the "triumvirate," composed of Marlborough, Godolphin, and Harley, which, constituting only a part of the cabinet, met frequently and informally, often twice a week and at times in the presence of the queen, and planned important ministerial measures, which were probably given more definite form in the sessions preliminary to the regular meetings of the cabinet council.<sup>1</sup>

In concluding this study of Harley's speakership, it is highly desirable to gain a more comprehensive idea of

Inner and Outer Cabinets: their Development and Relations in the Eighteenth Century," *ib.*, XXXI. 291-6; and Michael, "Die Entstehung der Kabinettsregierung," *Zeits. für Politik*, VI. 549. The accounts of the origin of the cabinet by the older writers, Torrens, Blauvelt, and Salomon, have, in general, been superseded for the period of Anne's reign.

<sup>1</sup> Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, ff. 44, 208, 398-402; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), pp. 19, 21, 25; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 49; *E. H. R.*, VIII. 740. This small group, the "triumvirate," cannot be called a "conciliabulum," as the name does not appear until 1757. It is possible that it constituted the "Defense Committee" discussed by J. S. Corbett, "Queen Anne's Defense Committee," *Monthly Review*, May, 1904, but such identification is largely conjectural.

his character and ability than could be gleaned from a study of a few of his political activities. This man, who stood for so long in such confidential relations with the queen, was of varied attainments. Many of his characteristics seem absolutely contradictory. Born in non-conformity he became a steady supporter of the Established Church, and as chief minister, permitted the High-fliers to pass such measures of persecution as the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Schism Act. A country gentleman by birth, he married into the trading class and acted in conjunction with the monied interests for a large part of his administration as first minister. He displayed considerable ability as a financier, and helped to provide for the enormous debt occasioned by the war, in which Great Britain acted as the paymaster of the allies, a part she has been destined to play from that day to this.

Harley was far more than a financier; he ranks as one of the shrewdest statesmen and political managers of a century which boasted Walpole, Newcastle, and last, but not least, George III. He was shrewd enough to outwit such wily politicians as Swift, Marlborough, Bolingbroke, and even the Duchess of Marlborough. Furthermore, he completely overwhelmed that group of Whigs known to history as the junto, and drove them from power. For over four years he deluded the Jacobites into believing that he would bring the Pretender to England and place him upon the throne of his father, when in reality, he never took any active steps in that direction.<sup>1</sup>

He was both a financier and politician, but he was also a connoisseur and patron of art, and few Englishmen have done so much for the furtherance of literature. He

<sup>1</sup> Birch MSS., Add. MSS., 4223, f. 114; Defoe, *Secret History of the White Staff*, Pt. ii., pp. 10-24; Torrey, *Memoirs*, *passim*; Ranke, *Eng. Hist.*, V. 347; Leadam, p. 44; O. Goldsmith, *Hist. of Eng.*, IV. 136.

was the first to discern the true value and importance of pamphleteering in politics; in a sense, he both discovered and developed such writers as Arbuthnot, Swift, and Defoe.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately for posterity, his interest in literature was not confined to the ephemeral type; he was a "collector" of consequence, as the Harleian Manuscripts and the Harleian Miscellany well testify. He stands as one of the leading founders of the British Museum, where his valuable collections find a home.

Despite such evidences of his ability and versatility, Harley was not looked upon by his contemporaries as an individual of power. In a period when no man might be trusted with a secret unless he was vitally concerned in it himself, Harley was accused of being too secretive.<sup>2</sup> Surrounded by enemies in both the Whig and Tory parties, he was vilified for being slow and cautious, and his policy of opportunism gradually added to his unpopularity. Nevertheless, on one occasion, apparently overwhelmed by the united forces of Whigs and Tories, who sought his ruin, he rallied his followers quickly, and with Anne's help, destroyed the power of this coalition by creating a dozen peers in a group. The criticism of dilatoriness disappeared as if by magic.<sup>3</sup> Surrounded by men of the most venal type, he was never even accused of corruption, despite the unparalleled opportunities afforded him through the rising expenditures due to the war.

Harley's talents were most necessary to supplement those of his two colleagues. Godolphin was an able

<sup>1</sup> John Forster, *Defoe*, p. 58; John Tutchin was another of Harley's protégés. Dayrolles Papers, Add. MSS., 15866, f. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See Bolingbroke, *State of Parties*; *Private Diary of William, Lord Cowper*; Swift, *Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs*; Salomon, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> In Carte's *Memoranda*, Harley is referred to as the "most intrepid man in the nation," Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCXI. 38.

administrator and financier, but was totally devoid of a political sense to understand or appreciate public sentiment, and thought far more of winning a cock-fight or a horse-race than an election; whereas Harley possessed true political sagacity.<sup>1</sup> To a greater extent than any of his colleagues, he seems to have appreciated the growing importance of the aggressive commercial classes in politics. The lord treasurer, moreover, was kept so busy as first minister that he had little time for purely political affairs. Marlborough had political insight, but he cared nothing for the game itself, and the increasing strain of military and diplomatic undertakings forced him to depend increasingly upon others to rule parliament. He was unable to trust to his wife's political wisdom, because her inclinations ran too strongly in favor of the Whigs, whom Anne detested, so Marlborough decided early in the reign that he needed Harley's support and the latter was taken in as a kind of junior partner, because the ministry needed an industrious, moderate Tory to keep the junto from forcing the hand of sovereign and ministers alike. Although considered a Tory, Harley favored the legislative supremacy of parliament; professing the highest regard for the Anglican Establishment, he remained at heart a Dissenter; moreover, he possessed two important attributes not usually found together in the days of the Stuarts—political wisdom and sincerity—while the political information which he furnished made him invaluable as an ally. His chief claim, then, to membership in the "triumvirate" lay in his political astuteness, as few understood so well the rules and procedure of the House of Commons, and probably no man in England was more familiar with the general current of public feeling. As speaker during

<sup>1</sup> Birch MSS., 4223, f. 114; Defoe, *Secret History of the White Staff*, Pt. ii., 10-24; Lord, p. 80.

three parliaments, he had learned the game of politics as it was played in the early eighteenth century, and was even able when the time came to interpolate some new rules of his own. From the beginning of the reign he was useful to Godolphin in arranging ministerial policies, and indispensable in turning them into laws. As secretary of state he was destined to prove of still further service to his fellow "triumvirs."

## CHAPTER VII

### THE BREAK-UP OF THE "TRIUMVIRATE" (1704-1708)

ROBERT HARLEY was principal secretary of state in the Godolphin ministry for nearly four years, during which time England passed through the crisis of the greatest war Europe had thus far seen. With the general who won the victories and the parliament which supplied the sinews of war, Harley was equally familiar, and to each equally invaluable. For almost a year, he filled the posts of secretary and speaker together, and in such way as to win the admiration of friend and foe alike. As speaker he played an important and indispensable rôle in legislation and politics, and as cabinet minister he became even more valuable, although his portfolio lay in the field in which he had the least influence. He secured this position of prominence partly as the result of his own achievements, and partly because of the unpopularity of his fellow "triumvirs." As secretary he was concerned with affairs that were chiefly political and military, and in this capacity was compelled to keep in touch with domestic affairs, and to possess an accurate and extensive knowledge of war and diplomacy. His relations with Godolphin and Marlborough necessarily had to be even more intimate than before, if he were to do efficient work as a diplomat.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, ff. 2-4; Coxe Papers, XVII. 185, XX. 35. In the last reference, Harley, acknowledging the receipt of several letters, says: "I read them all to her Majesty, and we have all reason most



Although Harley preferred to devote the lion's share of his time to manipulating domestic politics, he was not inattentive to the leading foreign events, and under his administration of foreign affairs, the most decisive battles of the war were fought and won by his colleague. These victories brought the French monarch face to face with ruin and forced him to seek peace. It is pleasant to speculate whether the peace terms of the allies, negotiated after Harley had left office, would have been so exorbitant as to drive the French once more into war, if he had still been secretary, especially in view of his later activity in negotiating the much-criticized treaty of Utrecht.

Harley could not be idle at this time, as three difficult questions were always before him, clamoring for solution. Probably the most important was that of keeping the allies in line, particularly the Dutch, who displayed a chronic and increasing tendency to let the English do most of the fighting, while at the same time, paradoxically enough, they showed an almost insane fear lest England should make peace without their consent.<sup>1</sup> The alarm of the Dutch arose partly as a result of Louis XIV's intrigues with Marlborough, and partly on account of their distrust of the duke's motives, which was beginning to prevail in the Low Countries as well as in

highly to applaud your Grace's conduct in taking [towns] as well as winning battles." Harley's secret service work excited even Marlborough's admiration. "Am very much surprised," he wrote, "at what you tell me of my journey for nobody knows of it from me but the Pensioner." *Bath MSS.*, I. 167. See also pp. 157, 168.

<sup>1</sup> This seems groundless from Anne's letter to Marlborough relative to the Elector of Bavaria. Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34513, f. 163. Yet a month earlier, Anne informed the duke he might break away from the Dutch. Coxe, ch. 51; Add. MSS., 9025, ff. 71-2. Indeed, Marlborough feared that Holland might make peace on account of English party dissensions. The commercial jealousy between England and Holland was very marked. Thomas, p. 247. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 98, 157.

England.<sup>1</sup> All the tact of Marlborough and Harley was needed to keep the Dutch contented, but they succeeded by strenuous efforts in holding them firmly in line.

Of the other allies, the Empire was most important, and it, too, gave the "triumvirate" much to do. Though fully as delinquent as the States-General in keeping her promises, Austria's cry for subsidies was incessant, and Harley was given the task of negotiating a loan from the wealthy London merchants for Prince Eugene's army.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the influence and ability of this commander, coupled with Harley's tact, was all that prevented a diplomatic rupture with the Empire. The emperor had earlier refused to salute Anne as "her Majesty" and she refused to receive communications addressed in any other way. Harley made it a special duty to write the imperial envoy about it, with the result that all official friction disappeared, although the perplexing problems as to troops and subsidies still remained to be solved.<sup>3</sup>

Spanish affairs were also irritating, in some measure because they were closely connected with the Austrian difficulties, since an Austrian archduke was a candidate for the Spanish throne. Military matters had never progressed favorably for the allies in the peninsula. In 1706, the rivalry for the position of commander in chief between General Earl Rivers and the Earl of Galway broke out, and the following year the defeat of Galway at Almanza gave Rochester an excuse for moving that 20,000 English troops should be transferred from Flanders to Spain. His real purpose was to embarrass Marlborough, whose speech in the Lords convinced the

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCX. ff. 12-3, 19; Burnet, V. 386; Egerton MSS. (B. M.), 929, f. 6.

<sup>2</sup> S. Stebbing, *Genealog. Hist.*, p. 833; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 389.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe Papers, XVII. 185; Stepney Papers, Add. MSS., 7059, July 3, 1705. Miss Strickland says Anne brought this on herself by receiving in her ignorance a Latin letter without the proper salutation.

Highfliers that it would be suicidal to do this in the face of the French forces. The whole matter was brought to a climax by Somers, the most conservative member of the junto, who moved that "no peace could be safe or honourable, till Spain and the West Indies are recovered from the House of Bourbon." Still the difficulty was not settled, and three days later, Harley, at Anne's command, laid before the Commons information about military matters in Spain.<sup>1</sup> In all these troubles Harley's function was to act as peacemaker and aid men who were desirous of entering the consular and diplomatic service.<sup>2</sup> In executing such duties, his talents showed to advantage, a fact that both Godolphin and Marlborough fully appreciated,<sup>3</sup> although they did not dream how great his influence was with the queen.

More difficult, if not more important, diplomatic matters were found near home, as the Hanoverian succession had both foreign and domestic angles. It was a dangerous question on account of Anne's uncompromising attitude toward the heir apparent. The Jacobites were rather numerous in England; in Scotland their number was still larger, and this fact had complicated the difficult negotiations for the union. Besides, many ardent High Churchmen frowned upon the electress and her descendants on account of their Low Church inclinations. The Whigs, having aided the ministry in defeating the Tory motion to invite over Electress Sophia, now demanded their price. With the failure of the "tack" and

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XV. 476; *James*, III. 300-3; *Timberland*, II. 182. Indeed, Somers's resolution found its way into the queen's address. *Coke*, III. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, VII. 77; *Godolphin Papers*, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 6; *Dayrolles Papers*, Add. MSS., 15866, f. 56; *Coxe Papers*, XIII. 213; *S. P. Dom.*, Entry Book, CV. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Godolphin wrote Harley: "So many disagreeable things as one meets every day makes me quite weary of my life; I have often envied your happier temper in these matters." *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 155.

the "invitation" the troubles of the hard-working lord treasurer had seemed at an end when they had only begun. Almost at once, the junto besought Godolphin to fulfil the promises he had given in the queen's name. When the ministry lost its zealous High Tories and gained moderate Whigs, both Godolphin and Marlborough thought they had a ministry by means of which Anne might stand aloof from political factions. Such a position had its advantages, although it placed the ministry where it would be attacked by both parties and defended by neither. As a result, Godolphin was importuned by the junto to put one of their number in the cabinet; while the Tories threatened a renewal of the "invitation," if the Whigs were given too much power. In his distress, the first minister leaned upon Harley, who had supported the ministry so successfully when the "tack" was before parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Anne was uneasy over the Hanoverians, as, some months after the passage of the Regency Bill, she called Archbishop Sharp into consultation and told him, as Godolphin "had done before, that she had apprehensions of the motion's being renewed . . . of inviting over the Princess Sophia. . . . And therefore she pressed me earnestly, that I would endeavour, in all my conversation, to discourage the matter."<sup>2</sup> She had her way, and her spiritual father promised his aid. Marlborough and Godolphin were also anxious about the succession, which was destined to disturb political life for the remainder of the reign.

The "invitation" had clearly separated political fac-

<sup>1</sup> "I hope everybody will do you the justice to attribute the greatest share of it[s defeat] to your prudent management and zeal for the public." Marlborough to Harley, Coxe, I. 249. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, I. 310. Late in 1708, Anne begged Sharp to support her in all matters relating to the prerogative, and not to follow Nottingham and the Highfliers. *Ib.*, 300. It is at least possible that she refused to grant the

tions and aroused the queen's animosity against the Tories. Its defeat made the English Jacobites disconsolate and caused the Pretender's supporters in France to doubt the sincerity of such ministerial leaders as Godolphin and Marlborough. Furthermore, this discussion aroused at the Hanoverian court suspicions of the Whigs, which no explanations could quite dispel. In that strenuous controversy, Anne had taken a stand which she steadfastly maintained, and in such a decided fashion as to destroy the force of the usual assertion that she had no power in political affairs. Harley, as usual, had kept in the background in this dispute, but he had not been idle. When it was all over, and the Whigs demanded their pay, no one could be more necessary to Anne's peace of mind than this dextrous politician.

Even more fatiguing than the problems of the succession were the prolonged negotiations conducted by Godolphin over the union. He was an old man, and the interminable wrangling over the articles wore him out. Indeed, it is probable that the negotiations might have broken down, had it not been for the superior secret service of Harley's agents in Scotland, in supplying the ministry with information.<sup>1</sup>

Although military affairs were urgent, and the questions of Scotland and Hanover important, the secretary had other duties to perform. By the close of 1704, he had become thoroughly immersed in his work, which proved to be most arduous. Frequent and important letters passed between him and Marlborough about military and diplomatic affairs, while his correspondence with Godol-

Whigs any places until she was assured they would prevent any such motion being carried. Marlborough's military successes probably forced her hand.

<sup>1</sup> See particularly *Bath MSS.*, I. 124, 158. A year earlier (1705) Godolphin relied upon Harley to secure the passage of the Scottish bill to pave the way for the final Articles of Union. *Ib.*, 80.

phin grew in volume and value.<sup>1</sup> Such confidential relations continued, for it was not long before Marlborough's secretary informed him: "My Lord Duke desires you will mention the enclosed papers to him at the 'Cabinet Council in order to receive the Queen's directions.'" Gradually he became increasingly important in foreign matters. Sir Rowland Gwynne recognized this when he besought Harley in vain to use his influence to get him the appointment to Hanover.<sup>3</sup> In dealing with commercial matters, Harley was for a time given a free hand, as Godolphin was too busy to look after such affairs while the union was under discussion.<sup>4</sup>

In carrying on the routine duties of his office, Harley hit upon an expedient to curry favor with the queen and at the same time carry out his ideas of government. This was to read important papers and dispatches to Anne and then ask her decision.<sup>5</sup> It pleased the queen's vanity and assisted materially in promoting Harley's cause at a time when Godolphin and the duchess were trying to ride roughshod over her.

However valuable Harley's services may have been in smoothing out diplomatic difficulties, in bringing about an understanding at Hanover, or in promoting the union, his main genius was for domestic politics. From long experience he had learned the rules of the political game and from the reasons assigned for his appointment, it may be concluded that his task in the "triumvirate" was not foreign affairs, although that department was turned over to him, but the home affairs of England itself. For the present, however, his feet stood in slippery places. The defection of the Highfliers had thrown Godolphin

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 83, 95, 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 157. These papers related to war and diplomacy.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Coxe Papers, XX. 35; *Bath MSS.*, I. 157. Cf. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 150, sq.

into an alliance with the junto. For months prior to Harley's appointment, the duchess had been importuning her husband and Anne to ally themselves with the Whigs. Sunderland had made overtures to Godolphin, hoping to gain a portfolio, and it is possible that Marlborough, fearing the young earl's rashness, favored Harley, partly to exclude his own son-in-law from the cabinet. At any rate, Harley's selection defeated whatever immediate hopes the junto had of a closer alliance with the ministry, and it was only natural if they resented the intrusion of a moderate Tory into a place which they thought belonged to them. The conflict between Harley and the members of the junto was inevitable, for they could not hope to work together with any comfort. Because this conflict went on quietly, it has been assumed that there was no particular struggle between them. The presumption is decidedly against such a state of affairs, because the junto was taken into partnership by Godolphin soon after Harley was driven from the ministry.

As part and parcel of this difficulty, the speaker found Godolphin a timorous opportunist, who at times seemed willing to throw himself entirely into the hands of the Whigs. Occasionally, indeed, it required the combined influence of Anne and Harley to restrain him from taking the step. Just before Blenheim, Godolphin seemed to have entirely lost his grip on political affairs, and entered into some species of agreement with the junto.<sup>1</sup> So it remained for Harley and the queen to take such precautionary measures as would prevent the government's falling completely under Whig control, a move manifestly impossible had Anne been completely under the control of her favorite.

This task became even more arduous when Marlborough's victories gave added weight to the demands

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 179, 182, note by Dartmouth.

of the duchess, and had it not been for the duke's own views, the junto might have had its way, on account of the lord treasurer's fears. With Marlborough's predilections in his favor, with the aid of St. John, Mansell, and two other able lieutenants, Harley was able to keep the junto out of power nearly four years, although they had gained a foothold over a year earlier.

In this struggle with the Whigs, St. John was a powerful ally. His ability as a debater was second to none in parliament, and when Harley withdrew from the Commons, he did much to overcome the loss of the latter as speaker. In addition, he worked with Mansell in keeping a close guard over the appointments and patronage. St. John's other qualifications were many and varied. Few men in English public life have been so versatile. As a writer and pamphleteer he had few equals, at a time when Defoe, Swift, and Addison flourished. As a man of the world, he was popular with everyone save the queen. No group was complete socially unless St. John favored it with his wit and pleasantry. As a *roué*, he left little to be desired, manifesting equal pride in his reputation as a politician, libertine, and atheist. Such was the mettle of the man who was to assist the "triumvirate" as secretary at war.<sup>1</sup> Outside of his great talent, his chief strength lay in his confidential relations with Marlborough, whose correspondence with him was not, as might have been expected, concerned for the most part with military affairs, for a large proportion of his letters were personal in their nature. In truth, his main function seems to have been to act as an intermediary between Marlborough and Harley,<sup>2</sup> rather than to assist the duke in administering military affairs.

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III. 32, 49, 61. Anne's objections to him arose from his notorious licentiousness. See also Remusat, I. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Coxe Papers*, XXXI. 177, XXII. 162, XXIII. 193, XVII. *passim*; Von



The communications between St. John and Harley increased in number and importance as time went on; Mansell was also much in evidence; and a new and most valuable assistant came upon the scene. This was Erasmus Lewis, whom Harley called from his tasks as a Welsh schoolmaster to be under-secretary of state. Like his superior, Lewis was by no means mainly concerned with foreign affairs. He was Harley's political secretary, whose business it was to correlate the work of such men as Greg, Defoe, Paterson, and Ogilvie.<sup>1</sup> He was most efficient, and the story of his life, when written, will shed a flood of light upon the political methods of the early eighteenth century, since he was apparently one of the shrewdest political "managers" of his day. Without him, Harley might have traveled far in politics; but with his aid, the ambitious secretary was not to rest content until the highest political office was his. Of the exact details of Lewis's work, all too little is known, as his correspondence at this time, even with Harley, is limited.

On the other hand, Defoe was the most prolific pamphleteer and letter writer of his time. He was already in Harley's employ, when the latter became secretary, and his communications became more frequent and valuable. In the summer of 1704, after receiving Anne's pardon, Defoe was formally taken into her service. She "approves entirely of what you have promised him," wrote Godolphin to Harley, "and will make it good."<sup>2</sup> Both Defoe and the secretary fully realized the value of their close co-operation in Scotland and in the election of 1705. Before starting on his trip through England,

Noorden, *Bolingbroke*, p. 104. He thus increased the influence of Harley. *Bath MSS.*, I. 157.

<sup>1</sup> *D. N. B.*, article on "Lewis"; Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 61; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 88.

Defoe wrote, "I firmly believe the journey may be the foundation of such an intelligence as never was in England."<sup>1</sup> His worth as a journalist was probably even greater. After being released from Newgate, he expressed his gratitude by publishing the *Review* in the interests of the "triumvirate" and the queen.<sup>2</sup> This paper was "more moderate in tone, more straightforward in style, and more varied and sound in substance than any political journal that had been published in England."<sup>3</sup> Through it, Defoe became the leader of the lower middle class, whose "mental outlook was so near akin to his own,"<sup>4</sup> and his power is sufficiently attested by both friend and foe. The *Review* was published in Edinburgh as well as in London. In England it "was read in every coffee-house and club; often copies were stolen from these houses by Highfliers, that they might not be read; their contents were quoted on every popular hustings; the Duchess of Marlborough sent them over to the camp of Flanders; and the writer, on peril of his life, was warned to discontinue them."<sup>5</sup> Defoe's paper was a vital force in determining how the masses would vote, where elections had the faintest suggestion of being popular. But it was not only his periodicals, but his pamphlets as well, which acted as important factors in

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 106; Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 98; *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, pp. 5-6, 14; D. H. Stevens, *Party Politics and English Journalism*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> W. P. Trent, *Defoe: How to Know Him*, p. 63; Minto, *Defoe*, p. 67. The *Review's* principles were the same as those of Harley and Godolphin.

<sup>4</sup> Bateson, "Relations of Defoe and Harley," *E. H. R.*, XV. 238. See also Wilson, *Defoe*, II. 471.

<sup>5</sup> John Forster, *Defoe*, pp. 63-4; Defoe's *Review*, VI. 588. Forster's essay is a careful, sympathetic piece of work, but it has been largely superseded by Professor Trent's recent work. The latter has a critical article in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX., in which he treats mainly the literary side of Defoe's career.

settling the opinion of the constituencies represented by the House of Commons.<sup>1</sup>

The dangers incident to Defoe's career were not due entirely to his writings, although for these he was pilloried. He was in constant danger on his rounds through the country in the capacity of secret agent; his creditors were forever on his track; and his enemies, not satisfied with vilifying him as few men have ever been vilified, sought to imprison him. One officious Devonshire justice failed to show him the deference he thought his due, upon which Defoe felt called upon to remind him: "I have with me a certification from her Majesty's Secretary of State of my having acquainted the government of my occasions to travaile and of my giving security for my fidelity, requiring you as well as all other magistrates to offer me noe disturbance or molestation in my journey, and being at Biddeford when I had the notice of your injustice-like as well as ungentleman-like warrant, I went immediately to the principle magistrate of the town to show myselfe and the author aforesaid to any man that had reason to question it.'" Despite this clear statement of Defoe's protection by the ministry, the justice was in doubt where his duty lay. He found that Defoe was becoming intimate with the Presbyterians and other Dissenters. In addition, he took violent umbrage at Defoe's oft-repeated accusation that the young men in parliament wasted their time and rushed into the house at the last moment to vote as their leaders dictated on important motions, without regard to the merit of the measures.

Defoe was forever encountering such difficulties. However, they seem to have had little terror for him.

<sup>1</sup> Defoe had already written at least a dozen tracts upon timely political questions, of which some were so popular that they were frequently pirated. Wilson, II. 353.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, VI. 106. An account of his political life is found in *ib.*, 88.

As his knowledge of political and economic conditions increased, his reports became more significant. At times, his knowledge of the political situation was almost uncanny, and frequently his prophecies were of inestimable benefit to the ministry which he served so secretly.<sup>1</sup> Particularly was this the case in the election of 1705, and in the Scottish negotiations.

Defoe was not the only writer whom Harley used to further the ends of the ministry, as Toland and Tutchin were at this time also working under his patronage.<sup>2</sup> Neither was the *Review* the only periodical in which he was interested, since early in the reign he took charge of the *London Gazette*, the official organ of the ministry, and did not relinquish it until Sunderland became secretary.<sup>3</sup> This placed in his hands a powerful instrument for directing the thoughts of the people, of which no man of his time could make more use. For a while both Marlborough and Harley bewailed the fact that the *Gazette* was so slovenly written. When this was remedied, they decided that a semi-official publication was also needed, and material unsuitable for the *Gazette* was printed under Harley's direction in the *Postman*.<sup>4</sup>

Of course Harley and Godolphin were aided by others besides Defoe, Lewis, and St. John. A large number of the more moderate Tories supported both long after their more zealous brethren had been forced from the ministry.<sup>5</sup> Yet the fact must be steadily kept in mind that the

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 7121, f. 25; 28094, f. 165; Lee, *Defoe*, I. 116; *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, IX. 8-17; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 339-41, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *Defoe*, II. 377-8; Dayrolles Papers, Add. MSS., 15866, f. 58.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, II. 90; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), 709; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 36. Dr. Stevens, in the *Nation* (N. Y.), July 8, 1915, gives Sunderland much prominence, but fails to say anything of the part played by Marlborough and Harley earlier. See *Bath MSS.*, I. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 81; Coxe Papers, XVII. 185.

<sup>5</sup> Salomon (p. 5) speaks of the faction supporting Harley as "ein dritte partei."

“triumvirate” held allegiance to no party, or set of individuals, save as the exigencies of the times might demand. In this lies the real political significance of Godolphin’s ministry, which tried to administer the government without the dictation of either party—the last serious attempt of the kind in English politics. Harley was taken into the cabinet in an endeavor to prevent the interference of the junta with government policies. When the “triumvirs” could no longer work independently, the co-operation of its three members came to an end.

Although holding to neither party, the ministry had to gain support from the moderates of both. To some extent this was accomplished by a judicious distribution of the offices at court. In the majority of the important changes, Anne took an intelligent and often decisive part, especially when the ideas of punishment and reward were joined. Buckingham was dismissed because his attitude on vital measures ran contrary to the wishes of the “triumvirate” and the queen.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, his dismissal gave the opportunity of gaining the services of one of the wealthiest nobles in England, who was also a moderate Whig and Harley’s firm friend. Newcastle’s inclusion in the ministry, though accomplished with some difficulty, nevertheless won for the ministry the support of many independent Whigs who were not dominated by the junta.

Harley was mainly responsible for Newcastle’s appointment as lord privy seal, and nowhere is his political management better illustrated. Early in 1704, Harley made his plans,<sup>2</sup> even before he had been formally named as secretary himself. He first had to overcome Godolphin’s objections to admitting a Whig, so prominent

<sup>1</sup> Chamberlen, p. 188. One must not forget that this was before the period when ministerial unity was a *sine qua non*. Anne was also anxious to have a ministry which was above and apart from factions.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 182, 187; *ib.*, IV. 84; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1702-3), p. 485.

although moderate, into the government. Furthermore, Anne was even more averse to honoring any Whigs in this fashion. All through the year, Harley labored in his friend's behalf. It is possible that Newcastle would have been content with the position of lord chamberlain, but the queen gave that place to Kent without consulting either the lord treasurer or Harley.<sup>1</sup> The latter was not discouraged, as he was soon striving to gain Newcastle another place in the ministry. He even consulted Anne about the matter, although he received little encouragement, and it was not until four months later that he was at all certain that his endeavors would be successful.<sup>2</sup> He persevered, however, with both Godolphin and the queen, and Newcastle was finally rewarded as Harley wished.<sup>3</sup> Nottingham's removal rid the ministry of a trouble breeder, who attended to politics at the expense of foreign affairs. Seymour was also primarily a politician, although he lacked Nottingham's sincerity, and the cabinet gained noticeable unity when he and Jersey were dismissed in favor of abler and more reasonable men, an action absolutely necessary, if the mixed ministry were to continue.

With all the vehement Tories displaced, the "triumvirate," strengthened by a great military triumph, felt sufficiently able, while the action of the "tackers" gave

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 185. Harley assured one of Newcastle's supporters that they were busy planning other changes so that the new minister would find himself in happier company when he came into the cabinet. A few weeks later he reported that all was progressing favorably, but slowly, as they expected to change the lord keeper as well as the privy seal. *Ib.*, 187. By the middle of November, Godolphin had capitulated and they were doubtless awaiting the fate of the Occasional Conformity Bill before asking Anne's consent. *Ib.*, 188-93. See *Bath MSS.*, I. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Add. MSS.*, 4743, f. 33. Newcastle later became lord lieutenant of the North Riding and one of the commissioners for negotiating the union. A. Collins, *Histor. Collections*, pp. 180-1.

them the excuse, to make such distribution of public offices as would the better build up their power. They labored slowly, but their work was thorough. They even dismissed the justices of the peace, in some cases.<sup>1</sup> In March, 1705, information came direct from the secretary of state, that although few changes had yet been made, "all those that are talked of, will be made, as fast as it may be, and that the other Tories will be out of all."<sup>2</sup> It may be surmised that a ministry which thought itself above parties would be unlikely to carry out this threat to the letter. This conclusion is made reasonably certain by the number of office seekers who complained because no vacancies had been created for them.

As his political importance increased, Harley began to exercise additional influence over civil appointments. This is evident from Marlborough's kindly letter relative to a title for Cowper, whose appointment as lord keeper Harley had solicited earlier. "I am impatient of having your thoughts upon the methods of making the Queen's business go easy in the winter. I am very glad you are so well pleased with Lord Keeper, I am sure it is my hearty desire that the Queen should encourage everybody that serves her well; what you desire for him, can be no ways uneasy, but the engagement her Majesty may be under, but you and the Lord Treasurer are the best judges as to the time." Later he wrote, "What you have writ . . . concerning a title for Lord Keeper I think so reasonable that I shall with pleasure endeavour to serve him."<sup>3</sup>

Even if the moderate Whigs and moderate Tories were disappointed by the lack of thoroughness in removing government officials, the Highfliers imagined that the

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 134; *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), VI. 260-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hanover Papers*, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, ff. 286-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 82, 115.

"triumvirate" would never stop until every real Tory should be driven from office. "We are continually alarmed," said one of them, "that the Whigs are all to come in, and the Church party to go entirely out, and among other changes they give out that Lord Wharton is to come hither."<sup>1</sup> Harley and Godolphin constantly worked with the queen to get rid of refractory officials that she might reward the faithful. Although she may have been reluctant at first, Anne soon began to take an interest in these new appointments. Cowper noted that at one of the meetings of the council, she decided upon whom she desired for two important positions. In making some military appointments, which for the most part were confessedly under Marlborough's direction, she shrewdly observed that she could not be expected to sign commissions unless she were in possession of more facts.<sup>2</sup> The duchess again and again found herself unable to aid even her closest friends, but not until she found her plans for Sunderland going awry, did she reflect that others at times possessed the queen's ear. If this was her influence in 1706, when her husband was resplendent with the glory of Blenheim and Ramillies, her power after Mrs. Masham and Harley became Anne's confidants may be readily conjectured.

To discover Harley's part in royal appointments is exceedingly difficult, as his success depended on absolute secrecy. Occasionally, indications may be found that his influence was by no means negligible in determining appointments even outside the secretariat. General Cutts, the Ney of the War of the Spanish Succession, was highly pleased because Harley promised to aid him secure pro-

<sup>1</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28893, f. 95. Wharton was lord lieutenant of Ireland at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Boyer, p. 177; Cowper, *Diary*, January 5, 1706; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, f. 357.



motions or other court favors.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, Marlborough controlled military appointments and in diplomacy he also had his way, but in domestic appointments he wielded less power. As far as he was represented in such matters, it was usually through Godolphin, and not through his wife, as has heretofore been assumed. Although the duke was often absent on the firing line, it is improbable that any appointment of moment was made without a conference of the "triumvirate" with the queen.<sup>2</sup> When Sunderland at last forced himself into the ministry as secretary of state, Marlborough's interests might be assumed to have better representation. Such was not the case, as the new secretary was by no means in entire accord with his illustrious father-in-law, whereas Anne remained hostile to the young earl throughout.

By the same token, Harley's influence with the queen increased. Although Godolphin kept assuring Marlborough that everything was going as they wished in appointments, the duke saw far more than the lord treasurer of what was going on behind the scenes. He was fully aware that as a cabinet member, and moreover as one of the three directors of government affairs, Harley was constantly besieged by men who desired offices or promotions. A large portion of Harley's time was spent in discussing with Godolphin the best methods of filling certain offices. When Marlborough was in England, he also attended the regular consultations, one of which was

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Granville was writing to all three members of the "triumvirate" and to St. John to get their support. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 235, 396. When he was at last successful, he thanked Harley for his aid. *Ib.*, 216. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 77. Prior was another persistent office seeker, but was unsuccessful, probably because he confined his appeals to Marlborough. Coxe Papers, XXII-XXIV. *passim*. See also *Prior Papers* (H. M. C.), pp. 433-6.

held every Sunday evening before the usual meeting of the cabinet council.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after Ramillies, the duke learned how slowly political matters were progressing and wrote the secretary for suggestions. A month later, he asked Harley to co-operate closely with Godolphin, to whom he had written: "I think . . . Harley should be instructed in the whole proceedings, so that he might acquaint the Cabinet Council with what you [both ?] think proper."<sup>2</sup>

This advice was probably the result of the trouble over Sunderland's appointment, since the relations between Godolphin and Harley were cordial enough before that.<sup>3</sup> Their estrangement was not a breach in their relations, but was rather due to Godolphin's disposition to sulk when matters were going poorly with him. Indeed, his "blue Mondays" were all too frequent, as he had the misfortune to take himself too seriously. Another cause of their coolness lay in Harley's attitude towards the crown, which was in perfect accord with that of the queen, to wit, that the sovereign should be above parties and not allow herself to descend to the level of party politics. "I take it for granted that no party in the House can carry it for themselves without the Queen's servants join with them," he wrote. "That the foundation is, persons or parties are to come in to the Queen, not the Queen to them; that the Queen hath chosen rightly which party she will take in. . . . If the gentlemen of England are made sensible that the Queen is the Head, and not a Party, everything will be easy, and the Queen will be courted,

<sup>1</sup> Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, f. 370; Coxe Papers, XIII. 179, XVIII. 93, XXII. 124, 151; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XIX. 136. At another time the duke wrote Harley: "As the Parliament draws near, I beg at your leisure I may hear as often as may be." *Bath MSS.*, I. 105. See *ib.*, 67-104, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 73.

and not a Party, but if otherwise, - - -"<sup>1</sup> About the same time Harley suggested to Godolphin that Anne should be restored "to an entire freedom of acting."<sup>2</sup>

From September, 1705, the relations of Harley and Godolphin grew less intimate, but even then they were far from the breaking point. Shortly after this, the latter wrote confidentially to the secretary about filling the office of lord privy seal and an important judgeship, giving him complete control of the latter.<sup>3</sup> As usual, he had to call upon Harley to frame the queen's speech for the opening of parliament. Cowper, the next year, described a cabinet council at which, "the Queen desired that her speech might be prepared." Upon this diary entry, Lord Hardwicke commented, saying, "that function having been long in the Great Seal is *reverted* back to the Secretary of State."<sup>4</sup> From this it is clear that Harley's responsibility for Anne's speeches was direct. In the nerve-racking contest for the speakership in 1705, Godolphin enjoyed his support, and for a time, the victory of the Whigs<sup>5</sup> and Harley's success in getting the "Queen's servants" returned to the Commons heartened the three ministers exceedingly. At the close of the year, they were working harmoniously against the Highfliers, who were bent on driving them from power and preventing the union with Scotland.

To defeat such plans the co-operation of the junta was indispensable and, as we have seen, its members were never tardy in demanding their dues. At the same moment, Lady Marlborough's influence with Anne was

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 74. Theoretically such were Godolphin's ideas, which he had been forced to abandon, when he admitted Sunderland to the ministry.

<sup>2</sup> *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 76-7, 96. See also *Portl. MSS.*, I. 386.

<sup>4</sup> Strickland, XII. 127; Cowper, *Diary*, 21 October, 1705, and 21 March, 1706.

<sup>5</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 78; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 175; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 449.

steadily declining, and her attempts to aid the Whigs became correspondingly ineffective.<sup>1</sup> Still worse, if possible, the other members of the inner cabinet began to distrust Harley.

The credit for this discovery goes to the duchess, who had disliked Harley from the time of his introduction into the cabinet.<sup>2</sup> Yet even her intuition failed to find any specific charge against him for a long time, because she did not dream that he was working through the humble Abigail Hill. Early in 1706, Godolphin suggested that Harley may have been intriguing against the ministry<sup>3</sup> and by May the duchess probably was convinced that Harley had begun his "undermining operations" by insinuating to the queen that she was a figurehead in her own government and would remain so as long as the Marlboroughs retained her favor.<sup>4</sup> Cowper soon questioned the honesty of the secretary's professions.<sup>5</sup> Not until October did Godolphin inform the duke that the duchess was certain "Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, and one or two more of your particular friends were underhand endeavouring to bring all the difficulties they could think of upon the public business in the next sessions."<sup>6</sup> The duchess, unaware that Anne was completely in Harley's confidence, thought seriously of informing the queen of his equivocal behavior, but Marlborough, who had already received Harley's letter reflecting upon the Whigs and their policies, must have persuaded her to refrain. The

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, p. 229; Coxe, II. 22-3.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe Papers, XXI. 127. Letter to Marlborough. See also *Bath MSS.*, I. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Reid, p. 272. It is disappointing to find that Mr. Reid fails to quote or give any specific citations in defense of his assertions, but is content to refer casually to the Blenheim Papers.

<sup>5</sup> See Cowper, *Diary*, p. 18; *Portl. MSS.*, II. 195; Leadam, pp. 123-4.

<sup>6</sup> Coxe, II. 22. See also *ib.*, ch. 52.

secretary had only expressed the duke's own sentiments against putting the administration of affairs into Whig hands, and he gave it little more thought at that time.<sup>1</sup>

After Sunderland came into the cabinet, he at once discovered what was amiss, and wrote in measured terms against Harley's tactics in parliament, suggesting that Anne was secretly supporting him.<sup>2</sup> The members of the junto then went about arousing their followers against Harley, but even this failed to awaken Marlborough and Godolphin to the danger that would follow, should he gain a more secure position under the queen's protection. In his treatment of Anne, Harley had been most judicious. He managed to agree with her upon every important subject, or caused her to think that he did. He convinced her that she was being imposed upon, and that her only release from such bondage lay through Robert Harley, who always did what his sovereign desired. As secretary, he shrewdly submitted all important matters to her for her approbation, and thus, by appealing to her pride, he gained her confidence and esteem.<sup>3</sup> With such an efficient assistant as Abigail Hill close to Anne's ear, it was not difficult for Harley to have his way with her in all but vital government policies.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 20-3. The letters are given in full. In fact, the relations of Marlborough and Harley seemed to grow more intimate. *Bath MSS.*, I. 167, *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XXI. 158. Coxe notes at the end of this letter that he is not certain from the cipher that Harley is the one accused, as Sunderland may have meant Queensberry. However, it is rather obvious that it was Harley and not the Scottish duke whom he denounced in this unusual manner. Another peculiar letter criticizing the secretary and complaining of Harley's treatment of Nottingham is in Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, ff. 459-60.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, V. 53; *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*, 26. "Harley will take the Queen's commands and acquaint you with them, concerning the alteration of our several foreign ministers." Coxe Papers, XIX. 154.

Godolphin was thus caught between two fires from which there seemed to be no escape. If he did not allow the members of the junto more representation in the ministry, they would refuse to aid him in continuing the war. If he agreed to put more Whigs into important places, he was faced with the queen's personal objections, which were aided and abetted by Harley's secret counsels. If he favored the Whigs, he lost Anne's support; if he refused to favor them, he was unable to aid Marlborough's campaigns. The year 1707 was destined to be a nervous one for both the duke and his faithful, timid colleague.

To add to Godolphin's troubles, his suspicions of Harley grew rapidly at this time. Harley's attitude on the Drawback Bill of 1707 is the reason usually assigned for the coolness between him and the lord treasurer; yet, at the time, his attitude was not looked upon as disloyalty to his chief. Indeed, had the latter come out squarely against this measure, it is doubtful if the secretary would have fathered it. The truth is, the lord treasurer seemed willing to give Harley a *carte blanche* in the whole matter. At any rate, the disagreement was not serious, as Godolphin's arguments, backed by one of Defoe's letters, seemed to have caused Harley to drop the bill.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the union was a reality, Harley joined himself with Sunderland, Cowper, and Godolphin in an endeavor to make it succeed. Difficulties innumerable and trying arose and were adjusted with tactfulness. That the lord treasurer and the secretary differed frequently in their opinions is evident,<sup>2</sup> but there was no open quarrel.

<sup>1</sup> Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 77; *Portl. MSS.*, II. 415. Consult *Py. Hist.*, VI. 579; *Portl. MSS.*, II. 407; *Bath MSS.*, I. 169.

<sup>2</sup> See the letters of December 5-9, 1702, between Harley and Godolphin. *Bath MSS.*, I. 179-88. It is possible that Harley did not believe that the danger in Scotland was as great as Defoe had suggested. *Portl. MSS.*, II.

Late in March, Godolphin met with three members of the junto, who demanded increased recognition. He was so perplexed that he wrote a hurried note to Marlborough, complaining of their obstinacy. He had scarcely become accustomed to the new state of affairs, when Harley aroused the Whigs by causing parliament to be prorogued a week longer than they wished. Godolphin had to inform Marlborough of this unfortunate incident, but Harley's account written three days earlier<sup>1</sup> was a quiet way of informing the duke exactly what he had done against the junto, and it took most of the edge off Godolphin's complaint when it finally arrived. However, the letters between the duke and the lord treasurer grew more frequent,<sup>2</sup> while Sunderland occasionally added his jeremiad to the general burden of censure heaped upon the queen for her obstinacy.

Little good resulted from all this correspondence. Marlborough's note to Anne, at the same time polite and threatening, met a fate similar to that of the others. She was not to be moved; she did not like the Whig leaders, and was unwilling to have any more such men as Sunderland in her employ. Even the duke's impassioned appeal in behalf of the much-abused lord treasurer failed to move her compassion, although she had no mind to wound him.<sup>3</sup> By this time the harangues of the duchess injured, rather than helped, their cause. Threats of resignation made no impression upon the queen. Indeed, some of Marlborough's statements seem more like dead earnest than veiled threats. "What you say concerning the uneasiness between the Queen and Lord Treasurer—if that

382. Consult Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 58. Sunderland invited Harley to a meeting of the cabinet with the Scottish lords. See *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 405, 415.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XXI. 115, 156, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 99, *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Thomas, p. 254.

continues, destruction must be the consequence, of the circumstances of our affairs abroad, as well as at home," he wrote to Sunderland. "I am sure, to the best of my understanding, and with the hazard of my life, I will always endeavour to serve the Queen. But if she inclines more to be governed by . . . Harley, than . . . [Godolphin], I would sooner lose my life than persuade him to continue, . . . in the service of the Queen. This is only to yourself; but you may depend upon it that if ever I be advised with, this will be my opinion."<sup>1</sup>

The fundamental cause of the breach between Harley and Godolphin lay in their different political policies. Godolphin estimated that the Commons contained one hundred and ninety Whigs, one hundred and sixty Tories and one hundred "Queen's servants."<sup>2</sup> He thought that the last class could be depended upon to support the first, so he favored the Whigs as much as possible, as he felt that the ministry could continue only with their support. "Without them, and their being intire, the Queen cannot be served," he wrote, and if these were not satisfied, "the majority will be against us upon every occasion of consequence."<sup>3</sup> To these opinions, Harley could not agree, as he believed that it would be easier to get along with court affairs, if the Tories and queen were kept in good humor, as the clergy and some fifteen of the "Queen's servants" naturally inclined toward the Tories.\* In this opinion it would appear that he had Anne's moral support, and he insisted that although he was deeply attached to both Marlborough and Godolphin, he could not concede that the queen's friends must speak as well as vote for all ministerial measures.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 291. His estimate was based upon the number who voted for speaker. See also Leadam, p. 127.



The differences were vital and irreconcilable, but the duke consented to act as peacemaker. He wrote Godolphin that the attitude, not only of Harley, but of Anne as well, gave him some disquietude, and strongly urged him to take the secretary with him to wait upon the queen, and then and there demand an understanding. So far as known, Godolphin never was able to screw up his courage sufficiently to attempt this stroke. Harley and he drifted farther apart. The earl was ready to quit, but the duke was unwilling that he should try that final alternative, until all other means were exhausted; when he found Godolphin reluctant to face Anne or the secretary, he counseled writing the queen, and calling her attention to the state of affairs without any threat of resigning.<sup>1</sup> This advice was followed with the same results as before. Harley hated and feared all the junto except Halifax, and in self-defense showed Anne his colleagues' shortcomings,<sup>2</sup> so that even Marlborough was moved to such summary measures that he was willing to inform the queen exactly what policies she should follow, "and if that be not agreeable, that she should lose no time in knowing of Mr. Harley what his scheme is, and follow that."<sup>3</sup> Marlborough believed that when Anne learned of these threatened resignations, she would be likely to hesitate, and in that way he would gain time. He counted, too, upon Harley's natural hesitation to accept the entire administration of affairs before he had effected an alliance with the Tories. In the meantime, the duke tried to win St. John from his colleague, but all his efforts seemed tardy, for just as he thought Godol-

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 103-6. Marlborough's letter of 7 July, 1707, advised Godolphin to take Harley to task individually. Coxe Papers (XXII. 160, and XXIII. *passim*) also deal with the same topic.

<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, Harley, with Godolphin's consent, was active in filling valuable political offices. *Bath MSS.*, I. 171-81; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 407-13.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe, II. 107. *Cf. Bath MSS.*, I. 175-7.

phin had gained control of the situation, he was shocked to learn that the latter despaired of having any voice in filling three vacant bishoprics.<sup>1</sup> To add to the general gloom, the Whigs became more exacting than ever, and left both the duke and Godolphin with little hope of ultimate success.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, neither Godolphin nor the duke ceased to importune the queen. Most of their letters, it is true, concerned the vacant sees, but some of them referred to Harley as well. In their desperation, they decided to place their resignations in Anne's hands. The effect is best observed in her reply, which denied emphatically having disturbed any of the ministerial measures, "for I cannot think," she wrote, "my having nomi[na]ted Sir William Daws and Dr. Blackall to be bishops to be any breach, they being worthy men, and all the clamour that is raised against them proceeds from the malace of 18 [the Whigs], which you would see very plainly if you were here."<sup>3</sup> With such an attitude, there was no hope that she would listen to reason and the bishops she had named were duly inducted into office.

Despite Anne's insistence that Harley had nothing to do with selecting the bishops, there is no doubt that he influenced her decisions in other ways less open to discovery. He was always upon the ground, and Mrs. Masham was constantly reminding the queen of her dependent state. Lady Marlborough's power over Anne was now lost.<sup>4</sup> The duke realized this, yet he felt that he must answer Anne's doubts, and attempt a reconciliation between the women. So he called Mrs. Morley's

<sup>1</sup> Morrison, IV. 148. See also Coxe, II. 106-8.

<sup>2</sup> Mahon, p. 317. It is strange that Marlborough was not certain who had supplanted him in Anne's affections. Coxe, II. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe, II. 99, 157; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 106; Coxe Papers, XV. 83-5.

attention to Mrs. Freeman's sincerity, and assured her that their purpose was not to place her at the mercy of the Whigs, but rather to keep her out of the grasp of the hot-headed Tory leaders.

In these trying times, Godolphin appealed to Harley for his hearty co-operation. "I can't forbear adding upon this occasion," he wrote, "that if we who have the honour to serve the best Queen in the world can't agree upon the proper measures for her service at home, whatever we do abroad will signify very little."<sup>1</sup> The secretary's reply reassured Godolphin for only a few days. Matters did not mend with them, even though Harley asserted his innocence of intriguing and hinted that his resignation might be acceptable. Godolphin promptly and emphatically denied this insinuation: "I never had, nor never can have, a thought of your being out of the Queen's service while I am in it; but I am as sure I neither desire nor am able to continue in it, unless we can agree upon the measures by which she is to be served at home and abroad."<sup>2</sup>

The representations of Godolphin and the duchess at last aroused the duke. He put the matter before the intriguer, who again denied working against the ministry, but conceded that he was opposing the pretensions of the junto. "I am satisfied . . . there can be no other centre of union but the Queen, by the ministrations of your Lordship and the Duke," he wrote the lord treasurer, "and there the bulk of the nation will fix themselves, if they may be suffered, all other expedients are wretched things, and will end but very ill."<sup>3</sup> Late in September, the duke's letters to Harley were more caressing, but at

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 183; T. Somerville, *Queen Anne*, p. 626. The lord treasurer also insisted that Harley attend council meetings as usual.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, 181; Coxe, II. 171; *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 483.

the same time Marlborough sought the aid of Newcastle in overthrowing the secretary.<sup>1</sup> In endeavoring to stem the tide, Harley prepared a letter to the duke, which after some consideration, he decided not to send. In it, he denied being "uneasy" in the ministry, because "I have not intermeddled with anything. I have not solicited for nor against any person, I know nothing wherein I am a grievance, but that I have two eyes, and yet I wink as hard as anybody."<sup>2</sup> In the letter which he did send, Harley was less explicit, but even more insistent upon the danger to the government, if it were controlled by the junto.

Despite such statements, however, all three men were uneasy, although they went about their public business as though there was not the slightest friction. Thoroughly discouraged, but hoping that they might be able to straighten out their troubles, Godolphin asked permission to call on Harley at his office. "'Tis true the affairs at home would require a good deal to be said upon them," he wrote, "but I find they must go as they will, and I can do no more than I have done."<sup>3</sup> Harley agreed to a conference and advised that unless Godolphin initiated a program, the people would certainly follow some other politician who did put forth a policy. The meeting took place with little satisfaction to either minister.

In the meantime, to prevent matters going any further against the duchess at court, Marlborough advised her not to annoy Anne by such frequent, disagreeable references to Mrs. Masham.<sup>4</sup> His wife, obedient for once,

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 163. For Marlborough's correspondence, see *Bath MSS.*, I. 184-6; *Portl. MSS.*, II. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 186. This letter exemplifies Harley's oracular utterances.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I. 186. See also *ib.*, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe, II. 161.

agreed to do as he wished, but the provocations were too great for her to hold her tongue long. Matters failed to mend, although the duke continued his protestations to the queen,<sup>1</sup> to his wife, to the lord treasurer, and to Harley. He began to lose hope of keeping Godolphin in office. "If he stays in his place, and does not entirely govern the Queen," he wrote Lady Marlborough, "he will be duped by Mr. Harley; and if he does, which is certainly the best for himself, quit, he will do great hurt both to the business at home and abroad."<sup>2</sup> Yet the three struggled on against the secretary, hoping that some *modus vivendi* might be reached. Anne seemed almost reasonable at times. She showed no desire to rid herself of Godolphin as long as he would carry out her wishes, and was more reluctant to permit Marlborough to leave the army. These points she made exceedingly clear to the duchess, who might have saved her pride had she been less impatient. "I never did, nor never will give them any just reason to forsake me, and they have too much honour and too sincere a love for their country to leave me without a cause. And I beg you would not add that to my other misfortunes, of pushing them on to such an unjust, and unjustifiable action."<sup>3</sup> She was not content to rely upon Sarah's magnanimity, or even upon Harley, but once more she asked her good friend, Archbishop Sharp, to aid her.

Because her consort was its titular head, the queen had a special interest in the Admiralty, which just now was under the usual fire of criticism that has attended the English navy in all its great wars. The chief supporter of Prince George was Admiral Churchill, who was as impetuous as his great brother was cool. An attack was

<sup>1</sup> Morrison, IV. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Conduct*, p. 202.

made upon Churchill in parliament. Anne was, of course, his champion, and appealed to the archbishop to vote for him.<sup>1</sup> Sharp failed to give her a satisfactory answer, and a week later she once more begged him to support the Admiralty.

While Anne was thus interesting herself in naval affairs, Godolphin was forcing Harley to a decision. It is scarcely accurate to call the secretary's ambiguous replies satisfactory answers to the lord treasurer's question whether he might count Harley as a supporter or a rival, and his shuffling behavior assured both his colleagues that they had nothing to expect from him, however much the secretary might protest his innocence of treachery towards them. Both dreaded the meeting of parliament, and discussed the advisability of putting it off until Marlborough could arrive in England. Godolphin also feared to have Anne address parliament until the duke was on the scene. Eventually, they allowed parliament to proceed as usual, but Marlborough hurried back to find things in as ill a state for his party as could be pictured. While still at The Hague awaiting favorable winds, Marlborough asked to see Harley upon his arrival in London.<sup>2</sup> If the meeting ever occurred, it accomplished nothing.

When everything seemed darkest, and Godolphin was at the end of his resources, help came from an unexpected quarter—from the secretary himself. He certainly did not intend to aid his adversaries, but his lack of attention to the details of his office paved the way for his

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, I. 302. A similar instance of royal interference on behalf of her spouse is noted in Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28070, f. 8, which contains Anne's very emphatic letter to Godolphin. Before the session was over, Anne a third time called the archbishop to her to ask aid against the bill to dissolve the Scottish council. Sharp, I. 303. The bill failed. Wyon, II. 7.

<sup>2</sup> These letters are printed in *Bath MSS.*, I. 187, and Coxe, II. 174-5.

undoing. With so much work upon his hands as secretary, coupled with his extraordinary activity as a political agent, Harley was always a busy man, though never a methodical one. While engaged in political intrigues, he had no time to carry out any except the most important details of his duties. He, like his predecessor,<sup>1</sup> left valuable papers scattered about his office where subordinates might easily read them. Indeed, the burden of his work fell to under-secretaries and clerks. One of the latter was Greg, who, disappointed at his failure to receive from the ministry proper recognition for his services, decided to sell important diplomatic secrets to Louis XIV. His intrigues proceeded only a short time before he was discovered and arrested.

Of Greg's guilt there was no doubt, but to what extent Harley was implicated, remained an open question. The Whigs as well as Godolphin and Marlborough insisted that Greg had done no more than carry out his superior's plans,<sup>2</sup> and absence of satisfactory proof was for some time more than offset by exuberance in accusation. The incident failed to shake Anne's faith in Harley, who now became the butt of the attack of the infuriated junto and lost the chance to build up a personal party under the queen's direction. With all his shrewdness, he was unable to see this. He knew he was innocent, and failed to understand how the circumstance would weaken him. The frantic attacks of his political opponents rather strengthened his case than otherwise, as Greg was brave

<sup>1</sup> See an "Unpublished Political Paper of Defoe," *E. H. R.*, XXII. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 469, V. 648. Edward Harley's account is in Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 132. Harley's enemies held that his spies had been responsible for Fourbin's success against the English merchant marine. Cooke, *Bolingbroke*, I. 90. It was soon evident that Harley was innocent of intentional misconduct, but when men learned how careless he had been with important diplomatic documents, they began to doubt if he would prove an efficient first minister.

enough to testify in common with two other suspects that Harley had not the slightest knowledge of their intrigues.<sup>1</sup>

Harley, meanwhile, pursued the even tenor of his way. He still continued to act as the champion of the "triumvirate" in the Commons on as important a matter as the land tax.<sup>2</sup> At his urgent solicitation, apparently against Godolphin's wishes,<sup>3</sup> a meeting of the three men was held, and the secretary continued active in important legislative affairs and in preparing Anne's speech.\* Just before the holidays, he appeared before the Commons "to open to us the state of the war; I suppose the same in substance as the Duke . . . had done in the . . . Lords . . . He told us it was what her Majesty had directed him to lay before the Commons when they came upon the consideration of Spanish affairs."<sup>5</sup>

The strife within the inner cabinet drew Harley closer to the queen than he had been before. Because of Anne's obstinacy, Harley's enemies sought in vain from September, 1707, until February, 1708, to drive him from the ministry. Having failed to make much capital of the Greg case, they sought for other means to put pressure upon the recalcitrant queen. Harley worried little about his place, since several times before the junto had

<sup>1</sup> Greg's confession is in S. P. Dom., IX. Vallière and Barré, two smugglers under Harley's protection, were also imprisoned for acting as French spies. S. P. Dom., Entry Book, LXXVII. 43-6; S. P. For. Ministers, CXXI. 17.

<sup>2</sup> James, III. 283; *Bath MSS.*, I. 188.

<sup>3</sup> "I humbly beg . . . to wait upon your Lordship this evening at your house at eight, having some account . . . which I think in duty to your service I ought to acquaint you with; and I should be glad my Lord Duke . . . would be present." *Bath MSS.*, I. 188; Somerville, *Queen Anne*, p. 627. The same day Godolphin complained to Harley about the Leicester by-election. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 464.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* (1874), V. 170; James, III. 289; *Bath MSS.*, I. 188.

<sup>5</sup> A letter from Vernon to Shrewsbury, James, III. 302; *Bath MSS.*, I. 188-9.



foretold his downfall. Throughout his career as secretary, the cabinet had been looked upon as "a weak ministry, that must support itself by parties"<sup>1</sup> and now it had become weaker still, by internal dissensions. The election of 1705 had bettered matters only for a time, and then the Whig element demanded the price of their continued support, which kept the "triumvirate" in hot water all the time. Yet, with the ministry in such straits, Harley had dared to start intriguing on his own responsibility against his colleagues. He had the courage to stand with the queen in an attempt to keep the government from being thrown entirely into the hands of the Whigs. A month after Greg's treason became known, Anne confided to her favorite prelate that "she meant to change her measures, and give no countenance to the Whig Lords but that all the Tories, if they would, should come in, and all Whigs likewise, that would show themselves to be in her interests, should have favour."<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the queen sent many little comforts and necessities to Greg, while he was awaiting trial,<sup>3</sup> and she murmured at the junto's refusing to accept Greg's statement of Harley's innocence.<sup>4</sup>

The queen, then, was determined to save Harley. Added weight is given to Sharp's account by Vernon,

<sup>1</sup> Hanover Papers, Stowe MSS. (B. M.), 222, f. 281. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 146-56.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, I. 323. Sharp's biographer says that the *Diary* contains much more evidence on political affairs, which he unfortunately does not see fit to print. Apparently it is highly personal, as Anne poured out her whole mind to the archbishop.

<sup>3</sup> Strickland, XII. 172.

<sup>4</sup> " 'It's strange,' said she once upon that occasion, 'that they would not have us believe the man now he acquits Mr. Harley, when they would have believed him if he had accused him; and that they will not believe the man's dying words, when it is evident they would have had great weight upon them if he had lived.' " *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*, pp. 18-9.

who says it was generally known at court that "messages have been carried as from the Queen to several leading members among the Tory party to engage them to stand by her Majesty against the Whigs whose management she was dissatisfied with, and no less with the influence they had with the ministers. This is laid to the charge of Mr. Attorney [General] and Mr. St. John, but more particularly the latter, so that they [and Harley] are looked upon as a triumvirate that were framing a new scheme of administration, and Mrs. Hill the dresser is said to be engaged with them in the project."<sup>1</sup>

Roger Coke<sup>2</sup> gives still further information of the activity of these three Tories, while Addison and Dean Swift describe Harley's schemes in considerable detail.<sup>3</sup> All three agree that Harley and St. John had been maturing a plan to remove Sunderland and Godolphin from the ministry, with the full expectation that Marlborough would remain in charge of the army after his political influence had been lost.<sup>4</sup> Anne was working hand and glove with the conspirators, as within the space of a single week she sent Harley two informal notes, the intimate tone of each clearly indicating how friendly she had become with him. In one, she requests an interview; in the other, St. John is specifically mentioned as being in their confidence.<sup>5</sup> These notes prove how valiantly

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XIII. 240. Letter to Shrewsbury.

<sup>2</sup> "But some of them (Tories) . . . had for some time been playing an underhand game to put themselves at the head of affairs; the principal of which was Mr. Secretary Harley. The project was to remove the Lord Treasurer, and . . . Sunderland was to be out such a day, he being the person they resolved to begin with." Coke, III. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Ball, F. Elrington, *Cor. of Swift*, I. 74-5; *Manchester MSS.* (H. M. C.), 95. The scheme included Powlett, Hanmer, Harcourt, and St. John.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, V. 343. Cf. Coxe, II. 191.

<sup>5</sup> "Not being sure when I shall have an opportunity of speaking with you, I writt this to desire you would com to me to morrow morning at eleven o'clock, or the next day at the same hour, as is most convenient to yourself.

Anne fought for Harley's retention in the ministry, for she, too, hoped the duke would remain as commander in chief after the ministry had been remodeled.

This was a fundamental error, because, if Godolphin was lacking in initiative, Marlborough was not. From his arrival in November, 1707, until February, 1708, he never ceased to force the issue upon the queen. Godolphin was heartened by his presence and broke with Harley.<sup>1</sup> Previous threats of resignation having had no effect save to bring forth protestations from Anne expressing the hope that the loyalty of her general and lord treasurer would keep them from any such move,<sup>2</sup> Marlborough decided to risk everything upon a final *coup*, so both he and Godolphin made known their determination to resign. The queen gave them no satisfaction, so the duke retired into the country, doubtless imagining that the struggle was lost,<sup>3</sup> as did many others. When the cabinet council met,<sup>4</sup> Harley assumed charge of the meeting until he was interrupted by Somerset, who said he did not believe that such important matters should be discussed in the absence of Marlborough and Godolphin. Other members supported him, Harley had to give way<sup>5</sup> and the queen

I am with all sincerity. Your very affectionett friend. Anne R." *Bath MSS.*, I. 189. See also *ib.*, I. 70; *Ed. Rev.*, CXVIII. 414.

<sup>1</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 189-90; Somerville, *Queen Anne*, p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 212; Tindal, IV. 529; *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Rumors had been spread abroad that a new ministry was being formed. Burnet, V. 350. *Manchester MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 95; James, III. 343. Marlborough had made overtures to the Whigs, particularly to Somerset and Newcastle, but he was doubtful of their support. *Portl. MSS.*, II. 200, IV. 506.

<sup>4</sup> This was not the Privy Council as some have supposed, for that body had no meeting between February 1 and 15. Anne must have felt, however, that both of these sessions were important, as she had Prince George attend. Somerset, Marlborough, and Godolphin were present at both meetings, but Harley's place in the second was taken by Boyle. *P. C. Reg.*, LXXXI. 5, *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> F. E. Ball, *Cor. of Swift*, I. 74-5; Salomon, p. 16; Burnet, V. 351.

left the council in tears. She was unwilling to give up, but Harley was convinced the struggle was, for the moment, hopeless, and asked her to accept his resignation,<sup>1</sup> which she did with great reluctance.

As in December, 1706, Anne was forced to give way to Marlborough and the Whigs, but she did it with a poor grace. It is probable that had it not been for the precarious state of her own health as well as that of her husband,<sup>2</sup> she might have chosen to fight it out rather than cherish her resentment until later. The queen's concessions put the junto into the saddle. It is true no other member of that group was put into office immediately, but they expected to bring that to pass in due time. For Godolphin, although it was not the beginning, it certainly was not the end of his difficulties as ministerial leader. This victory of the Whigs only served to make them eager for additional favors. Marlborough and Godolphin were now absolutely dependent for support on the junto and the still more uncertain "Flying Squadron" from Scotland,<sup>3</sup> as they could expect little aid from a stubborn, sullen queen. They soon learned to their cost, that Harley, even in retirement, would cause them great difficulties, as he still retained Anne's ear through his faithful cousin, Mrs. Masham.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, ff. 130-1; Hearne, II. 93; Edwards, *Founders*, p. 212. Prince George, probably at Harley's instigation, used his influence with the queen. Wilson, *Defoe*, III. 6.

<sup>2</sup> James, III. 229, 338; Boyer, p. 35; Coxe Papers, XIII. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Defoe, *Conduct of Parties*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Defoe wrote to Harley, "'Tis also my opinion you are still rising. I wish you as successful as I believe you unshaken by the storm.'" *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 477. See also *Conduct*, p. 213.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND THE JUNTO 1709

THE purpose of this chapter is to show how the Whigs attempted to gain power after Harley was expelled from the ministry; and to ascertain the ways and means employed by him and the queen to defeat the ends of the Whigs and Godolphin. The first matter of importance that occurred after the secretary's dismissal was the Scottish expedition. The Scottish Jacobites had long been restless, but the culmination of their intrigues lay in the Pretender's attempt to invade Scotland. Too much cannot be said of the seriousness of the situation, as Scotland was never in better mind to aid the Stuart claimant than in the spring of 1708.<sup>1</sup> The Scottish plot in 1703 had left much resentment, which in many quarters was increased by the negotiations which eventually resulted in the union. Commercial affairs had also added to the friction between the two countries, which was further augmented by the heated discussion over the Equivalent and the Drawback Bill. The disgruntled opponents of the union could not swallow all their rancor at once. The Jacobites, in particular, did not remain idle long,<sup>2</sup> and in a few weeks intrigues with Louis XIV and St.

<sup>1</sup> *Mar and Kellie MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 447; Thornton, *Brunswick Accession*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> They were probably never inactive in this period, as they were intriguing before the union. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 296; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, ff. 220, 303. Some of the Presbyterians, however, repudiated the Pretender at once. Defoe, *Review*, V. 3.

Germain were in full sway; within a few months, plans for the Pretender's invasion of Scotland were in the making. The Chevalier's supporters saw that the only way to insure his claim to the English throne lay in his gaining a foothold upon the island before Anne's death, and organizing his supporters. To this plan, the treaty of union added strength, as many Jacobites now fully expected that the Pretender would succeed his sister at Whitehall. Another faction of the discontented felt that the union made the accession of the Chevalier hopeless unless they struck at once and struck hard.<sup>1</sup>

The time was auspicious; England seemed unsuspecting and unprepared; the Pretender was anxious to win his spurs, while Louis XIV, assured that Scotland was prepared to rise, agreed to furnish twenty-six ships under the command of Fourbin, probably hoping by this feint to draw off Marlborough from the Low Countries.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the interest in England was intense. The ministry was aroused, and London was greatly excited,<sup>3</sup> fearing lest James Edward should succeed in landing and make a junction with his Jacobite supporters, who were numerous throughout Scotland. This junction once made, James might be able to secure sufficient aid from his English sympathizers to march on London, and live as heir apparent until Anne's death.<sup>4</sup>

It seemed probable that he might be able to land in

<sup>1</sup> See J. Oldmixon, *Memoirs of North Britain*, pp. 218, sq.

<sup>2</sup> See Carstares, *State Papers*, p. 763; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 224-7; Boyer, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hervey, *Letter Books*, I. 231. Louis had not planned this invasion until after strict examination of the conditions. Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CLXXX. 99-107. Mme. Maintenon indicated that every one at court approved of the venture before the king did. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer*, II. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Wyon, II. 17; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28892, ff. 220, 303. Marlborough and Godolphin may have been intriguing with the Pretender. Macpherson, I. 695.

Scotland. The greatest secrecy was used in the preparation of the expedition. Even the Pretender himself was ignorant of its objective until he was on his way to the ship that was to carry him across the Channel. And if the English did get word of the expedition, the defense of the island would fall upon the Admiralty, which as usual, was the most criticized branch of English administration! An unforeseen accident aided the English naval authorities. As the Dunkirk force was ready to weigh anchor, the Chevalier contracted the measles.<sup>1</sup> A messenger was sent at once to the French king, asking for new instructions. This took time and in the meanwhile the English ministry received news of the expedition and preparations were made to meet it. Byng immediately set out with forty sail to find Fourbin, who, favored both by wind and tide, was well ahead of the English admiral, and soon arrived off Edinburgh. Greatly to his consternation, the Scots showed no disposition to welcome him, much less to fight the English.<sup>2</sup> Fourbin, discouraged by such pusillanimity, put back into a French port, despite the Pretender's entreaties, without striking a blow, and with the loss of but one vessel.<sup>3</sup> The attempt was an ignominious failure, the Pretender was made the laughing-stock of Europe, and no more expeditions of the kind troubled England during Anne's reign.

However, there was a time when the English financiers

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XIII. 263, XXIV. 50, 94. The government had ample warning of the expedition. *Portl. MSS.*, VIII. 313; Luttrell, VI. 274-9; Manchester, *Court and Society*, II. 297; P. C. Reg., LXXXII. 5-14.

<sup>2</sup> Defoe said that Scotland was not entirely hostile. *Review*, V. 6. See also J. Oldmixon, *supra cit.*, pp. 218-24. Berwick said that the Scots waited impatiently for the landing of the Pretender. *Mémoires*, II. 54-6. Lockhart's comment is among the best. *Lockhart Papers*, I. 375, sq.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, II. 100; S. P. Dom., Anne, IX. 81. To account satisfactorily for Fourbin's actions is perhaps impossible. Some have maintained that the whole affair was to dupe the Stuart prince, but this is hardly tenable, as things went too far for the French fleet, under ordinary conditions, to

were not smiling over the Scottish invasion, which at the outset augured better for success than either the expedition of 1715 or that of 1745. The effect upon English finance was out of all proportion to Fourbin's actual achievements. It is difficult to account for the slump of fifteen per cent in the price of securities.<sup>1</sup> During the uncertainty as to the outcome of the expedition, the stock of the East India Company dropped from 108 to 99. A run on the Bank of England placed the government in a quandary, since nearly a half of its capital had been advanced on the security of exchequer bills, and there was little left in the bank with which to pay its creditors.

The ministry acted with praiseworthy promptness. Anne informed the creditors that six per cent, instead of three per cent, would be paid on all bank bills for the following six months, and that all the money available in the exchequer would be turned over to the directors of the bank, if they wished it. A number of wealthy nobles, including Marlborough, Somerset, and Newcastle, rallied to the support of that institution,<sup>2</sup> which was destined to become the bulwark of English credit. The governing body of the bank was thankful for these promises of aid, but they accepted no outside help, contenting themselves with asking permission to double their capital stock, which request was no sooner granted than the subscriptions were filled.<sup>3</sup> All danger of a panic passed away

have reached France in safety. It was probably due to jealousy existing among officials in the French navy. Macpherson, II. 116; *Mémoires de St. Simon*, XV. 414; Michael, *Eng. Gesch.*, I. 245.

<sup>1</sup> A. Andréadès, *Hist. of Bank of Eng.*, p. 120. The only reasonable supposition is that there was a real fear of a change of dynasty. It was felt that if the Pretender succeeded in landing, the bank would be ruined. Macpherson, II. 165; Luttrell, VI. 297; *An Account of the late Scotch Invasion*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlen, 289; Tindal, IV. 544; Andréadès, *op. cit.*, 121; Lecky, I. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Dayrolles Papers, Add. MSS., 15866, f. 101. Henry Boyle cited this



upon the arrival of information that the Pretender had landed in France. The resentment of the monied classes against the Jacobites was greater than ever, and caused them for some years to cling still closer to the Whigs.

Other effects of this attempted invasion may be briefly noted. The Admiralty had been in particularly poor repute, and the criticisms of Prince George and his adviser, Admiral George Churchill, were as pointed as they were plentiful, on account of the latter's particular talent for getting himself embroiled with colleagues and enemies alike.<sup>1</sup> He kept Godolphin and Marlborough on tenter-hooks all the time, and only Anne's interposition, doubtless at the suggestion of her consort, prevented his being dropped from the list of admirals. Yet, the movement against him was gradually gaining, when Byng's success against Fourbin increased the prestige of the Admiralty and temporarily postponed all attacks upon him.<sup>2</sup> The failure of the Scottish expedition also made Anne more popular than ever, a fact which the members of the junto were not likely to view with any great degree of complacency, even though it increased their own strength by making the Tories of Jacobite proclivities odious to both nation and queen.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, the junto's demands were more incessant than ever to displace all the "War" Tories, with whom Anne was so reluctant to part. The year 1708 is one of continuous political strife by Marlborough and the lord treasurer

subscription as evidence that the English were not excited over the invasion. It took only four hours to fill the subscription, and £1,000,000 was carried back by those who wished to invest. *Impartial View*, p. 139; Burnet, V. 410.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XLI. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, XXV. 129. Some maintained that the temporary success of the expedition was due to ministerial mismanagement. See the *Examiner*, II. 36.

<sup>3</sup> A pamphlet, *Vox Populi*, contains many loyal addresses from Somerset, Kent, and other counties. See also Defoe, *Review*, V. 37-44; Clarke and Foxcroft, *Burnet*, p. 433; *Journal de Dangeau*, XII. 111.

against the Whigs on the one hand and Queen Anne on the other.

The war itself was filled with political importance. Although English patriotism was sufficient to cause an ever increasing appropriation for its prosecution, the Tories continually criticized the emphasis placed by the duke upon the Flemish campaigns. Such men as Rochester reluctantly consented to England's participation in the Continental war. They made the most of the quarrel between Galway and the Earl of Peterborough, who succeeded him as general in the peninsula, over the responsibility for the defeat at Almanza, and assisted by the moderates, who had been expelled from the ministry, they insisted that Spain should assume the principal rôle in the succeeding campaigns. Such moves aroused the resentment of Marlborough and Godolphin against the Highfliers, who were already discredited by the Pretender's expedition, and made a closer alliance with the Whigs inevitable. Moreover, the votes in parliament proved to the ministry how narrow was their majority, even with the co-operation of the junto, the members of which now knew to a certainty that they held the whip hand in politics.<sup>1</sup>

Anne's attitude and the Tory opposition aroused the fears of the Dutch lest England should withdraw some of her support from the duke in Flanders. Men in the army felt the effect of these floating rumors. An officer stationed at Ghent wrote: "We have been a little alarmed at the struggles of your parties at court. I pray God

<sup>1</sup> Manchester, *Court and Society*, II. 292; Coxe Papers, XIII. 214. On the question of the mismanagement of Spanish affairs, the ministry had a margin of 55 votes, but on a statute relating to cathedral churches they could muster only about half that majority. Cf. Dayrolles Papers, Add. MSS., 15866, f. 100. On the question of raising recruits, the vote was 185 to 177; on the deliverance from the Scottish invasion, 180 to 70. Coxe Papers, XIII. 222; *Wentworth Papers*, p. 78.

give us a good British Parliament the next we have, for all depends on that. I shall never be persuaded that, if it be true, that there was a design to lay the Duke . . . and . . . Treasurer aside, that those who designed that could mean well or be real friends to the present Government. . . . There are no men free of faults, but I do not believe any man living at this time could be put in . . . Marlborough's place, but would prove fatal to Britain, and to the interest of the Protestant religion. Nor do I think any man can come in his place that can be either more sincere or zealous to bring the war to a speedy and a happy conclusion.'"<sup>1</sup> The duke was not desirous of prolonging the war for the honor he could get out of it, because he was anxious to return to private life, as political administration was becoming extremely difficult. Under no circumstances, however, was he willing to end the war upon any terms that might suit Louis XIV's caprice. In that sentiment, the queen sided with him. Marlborough opposed the proposed basis of peace, and wrote her to that effect early in 1708. "I am intirely of your opinion thinking it neither for my honour nor interest," she replied, "and do assure you, whatever insinuations my enemies may make to the contrary, I shall never at any time give my consent to a peace, but upon honourable terms." She added the significant warning, "Be so just to me as not to let any misrepresentation that may be made of 17 [queen] have any weight with 40 [Marlborough].'"<sup>2</sup>

The duke may have heeded her last injunction for the time, but even that is open to doubt, as he knew that Anne was sometimes too diplomatic to speak the entire truth. At any rate, it was not long before he once more

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 487, 497.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 52. A week later Anne wrote again to the same effect. *Conduct*, p. 215.

mistrusted her attitude towards foreign affairs,<sup>1</sup> and this is also shown by the urgent demands of his wife, Sunderland, and Godolphin that he hasten back to England, to assist in bringing the queen to realize that she must depend on the Whigs, or incur the wrath of the Tories and a disgraceful peace.<sup>2</sup> It boded ill for his colleagues that he was unable to return at that time. Not only was it impolitic to leave his army in Flanders, when the Dutch were already questioning his good intentions, but affairs at Hanover also demanded his presence.

The elector had commanded a part of the allied army so successfully the previous year that he now dreamed of emulating Cæsar or Alexander. For obvious reasons, neither the duke nor Prince Eugene had sufficiently exalted ideas of his military genius to take seriously his request for a command, and he was not even invited to the council of war which planned the next campaign.<sup>3</sup> His dignity was touched by this oversight, and it required a diplomat of Marlborough's calibre to soothe his wounded feelings, a matter of imperative importance, because the elector not only had the disposal of a large number of troops, of which the allies stood in direct need, but he was an heir to the English throne. The duke's stay in Hanover was exceedingly brief, but it seems to have been fruitful, as we hear no more of the elector's opposition.

In England, in the meantime, the efforts of Godolphin and his supporters to gain Anne's support were far from

<sup>1</sup> "I do not expect good nature or justice from 42 [queen]. You will be pleased to communicate my letter to Lady Marlborough, for I've no time to copy it." He believed that Anne would accept 81 [peace] rather than lose 39 [Marlborough] as general. Coxe Papers, XIII. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 209-16. Various letters of Godolphin, Sunderland, and the Marlboroughs.

<sup>3</sup> Wyon, II. 37; Lediard, *Marlb.* II. 11. See also the duke's letter to Godolphin, 3 May. Coxe, II. 215. The elector neither forgot nor forgave

successful. Military and dynastic affairs were bound up with a new project for bringing over the electoral prince, a move as unpopular in the queen's eyes as that of two years previous in favor of Sophia. The duke was involved in this plan, hoping that he might convince Anne of its advisability, since he would gain thereby the support of the Hanoverian family. "Information has come from Hanover, that the . . . Prince is to make the campaign under Marlborough," wrote Erasmus Lewis to Harley. "I am further told that the Duke will next winter bring him or his grandmother over hither, in such a manner that they shall have obligation neither to the Whigs or Tories but entirely to himself and the Lord Treasurer." Anne was ignorant of these schemes, but the electress was not, and lauded the duke to the skies for his kindness, although she was perfectly aware that neither the queen nor either of the parties had taken cognizance of the matter.<sup>2</sup> The Whigs were certainly alarmed lest by subterfuge the duke might gain his freedom from the thralldom they imposed upon him. Anne must have been thoroughly frightened when Lord Haversham quietly told her that the "invitation" would be shortly renewed in a much more dangerous form.<sup>3</sup> She opposed the plan so

this slight. When he became king Marlborough received no exceptional favors. In February, 1708, Wharton had suggested that the elector might succeed the duke as commander-in-chief, if the latter resigned. Lecky, I. 154.

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 490. See also *Bagot MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 341; S. P. Dom., Anne, XXV. 245. "You judge very right of the Queen," he said, "that nothing will go near her heart as the invitation. I think the project very dangerous; I wish the Whigs would think well of it, but I am at too great a distance to be advising." Marlborough to Godolphin, Coxe, II. 288.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 491. Lewis to Harley.

<sup>3</sup> Anne laid down the law about the "invitation." Speaking of Haversham's conversation with her, she wrote to Marlborough, "I told him I was sensible that this was a thing talked of, to asperse your reputations . . . but if this matter should be brought into parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, I should look upon neither of them as my friends."

vigorously that it was not formally brought to the attention of parliament.

While the composite ministry were worrying over diplomatic and dynastic difficulties, the junta was putting its house in order preparatory to increasing the pressure upon the queen. When Harley resigned, three of his intimate friends also retired.<sup>1</sup> Robert Walpole succeeded St. John as secretary at war, Mansell was displaced by the Earl of Cholmondeley as comptroller of the household, but Harcourt's resignation as attorney-general left a vacancy which the ministry was unable to fill. The junta was determined to place in this position Sir James Montagu, a brother of Halifax, but Anne saw clearly that such an appointment would mark an extension of Whig influence in her administration, so she refused to permit it. Never had Godolphin been so exasperated with her. He was so angry that expression, spoken or written, seemed alike impossible. In an interview, Anne was inflexible, and it "ended with the greatest dissatisfaction possible to both. They had had of late many great contests, as I am told, upon the subject of 4's [Halifax] brother, . . . but without any ground gained on either side. This day it held longer than usual . . . [her] obstinacy was unaccountable, and the battle might have lasted until midnight, if after the clock had struck three, the Prince of Denmark had not thought fit to come in and look as if he thought it were dinner-time."<sup>2</sup> And it was not alone in this one instance that Anne succeeded. Atterbury, one of Harley's closest friends, and a Tory of the most pro-

*Marlb. MSS.*, p. 42. Lewis said she was ill, and suggested that it might have been due to the new move towards Hanover. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 491.

<sup>1</sup> Their resignations show something of ministerial unity, although the intrigues of St. John and Harcourt had rendered their places insecure. Nevertheless they resigned and were not dismissed.

<sup>2</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 242. This interruption may not have been accidental. Coxe, II. 218.

nounced High Church views, remained as the queen's chaplain and must have been a thorn in the flesh to the Whigs. He was decidedly useful to Anne and Harley, who also had the valuable aid of Mrs. Masham. With such support, the queen was able to do much, even though the active Whigs<sup>1</sup> and the monied interests were against her policies.

However important these two appointments may be for us in deciding whether or not Anne really did any of her own thinking, the facts in the case of the junto's attempt to force another of its number into the inner cabinet to keep company with Sunderland are of greater consequence. This time, the junto used a great deal of circumspection in choosing its candidate, and selected Somers, the most moderate, and probably the greatest of the group, for the presidency of the council. Unquestionably he was most thoroughly equipped for the place, but there remained two objections to his candidacy: he was one of the Whigs whom Anne detested, and the position was already being filled most acceptably by the Earl of Pembroke.

For the members of the junto, this demand was a part and parcel of their plan, if not in truth the keystone of it, and shows the importance that was now being attached to a place in the cabinet council.<sup>2</sup> They practically made the demand a party measure, and for eight months, the bitterest kind of a struggle ensued. After Harley's resignation, the two remaining "triumvirs" demanded the right to determine all appointments, whether civil or ecclesiastical. For a time, the queen acquiesced, but both ministers soon realized that they did not enjoy her full

<sup>1</sup> The wife of Bishop Burnet insisted that if Anne had not given in when she did, most of the bishops would have supported the ministry. Coxe, II. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Anson, *Law and Custom* (3d ed.), II. 94. Cf. Lecky, I. 430.

confidence.<sup>1</sup> Still the ministry stood between and above political parties<sup>2</sup> and without Harley found it increasingly difficult to keep in touch with popular opinion. Instead of being ground between the Whigs and Tories, they were in the predicament of attempting to force upon the sovereign an individual whom she did not desire, in order that they might retain Whig support. The Tories were no longer a political force, their old leaders were now discredited, and it remained for the organizing genius of Harley, combined with the gravest political errors of the junto, to lead them to victory.

Soon after the vacant places in the ministry were filled, the queen was asked to make Somers lord president. With her prompt refusal, the contest began, which really divided itself into three parts. The first phase came prior to the election; the second was the election itself, which may be considered a struggle by the junto to place Somers in the council; and the third occurred after the results of the election were apparent.

The junto was supported in its demands by such influential men as the powerful dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Newcastle, as well as by Cowper, who, together with Newcastle, had gained much favor in Anne's sight. Such co-operation among the political leaders had no effect upon her, for she knew that if Somers were admitted to the cabinet, it would be only a question of time until the spiteful, licentious Wharton would also gain a seat.<sup>3</sup> In addition to his character, ability, and

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, V. 355; *Conduct*, p. 213; Paul, *Queen Anne* (Goupil ed.), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Lockhart Papers*, I. 295.

<sup>3</sup> Ball, *Cor. of Swift*, I. 85; Mahon, I. 195. Shrewsbury was mentioned for the place. *Manchester MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 97. Somers had been frequently suggested as leading minister, and he always had hopes in that direction, but he seems to have been too simple-minded to succeed in eighteenth century politics. Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS., 29589, f. 185. See also Hearne, I. 313.



such backing, Somers enjoyed the friendship of the Marlboroughs. It is more than probable that the duke's objections to any other member of the junto would have prevented the mention of his name to the queen. With his aid, however, Godolphin was willing to support Somers and his Whig colleagues. When the original scheme to oust Pembroke had failed,<sup>1</sup> Marlborough was urgently requested to hurry back to London, if only for a single interview with Anne. He was unable to leave pressing diplomatic affairs, so the lord treasurer was left to fight his battles with the queen alone.

To Godolphin's surprise, he discovered that Anne had a new ally, in the person of her husband. "I really believe this humour," he wrote, "proceeds more from her husband than from herself, and in him it is very much kept up by your brother George, who seemed to me as wrong as possible when I spoke to him."<sup>2</sup> With these allies, in addition to the disgruntled, intriguing Harley and the omnipresent Mrs. Masham, the queen was more determined than ever to stand out against the junto.

To meet this unforeseen situation, the Whig leaders decided to surprise Anne with a new proposal. With no previous intimation of their purpose, they sent Newcastle and Devonshire to her to urge the case of Somers. She naturally expected the original proposal, and absolutely refused to reconsider her decision. Then they suddenly suggested that she allow Somers to join the council, without any post in the ministry. They expected to catch Anne off her guard, as she never had been noted for quick thinking, but in this they were disappointed. She first suggested that such a move was unusual, but when they countered by showing instances where it had actually been done, she closed the discussion by assuring them

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34518, f. 44; Coxe, II. 219-21.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 218.

that she "thought the 'Cabinet Council' was full enough already." The next morning she sent an urgent call for Godolphin, demanding that he give her his views on the question; and when he sided with the Whig nobles, she told him that she would write the duke immediately to enlist his support.

Her letter shows not only a strong determination to resist the Whig oligarchy, but at the same time, a decided yearning also for sympathy and support, because, like the duke himself, she preferred the quiet of domestic life to the stress and strain of political strife. Like all the Stuarts, she was lazy and never exerted herself when matters went as she wished. "Their arguments did not at all convince me of the reasonableness nor the propriety of the thing," she wrote, "that I . . . had no thoughts of employing any but those that served me well in Parliament . . . and would countenance all that served me faithfully, [but] looking upon it as the utter destruction to me to bring Lord Somers into my service. And I hope you will not join in soliciting me in this thing, though Lord Treasurer tells me you will, for it is what I can never consent to."<sup>1</sup> Marlborough's reply was scarcely reassuring. He called her attention to the great efforts already being made by the Tories to make her believe they would carry the next election. Such a claim was absolutely nonsensical, he insisted, because the Scottish expedition had brought them under the suspicion of treason. If she favored them in the election (which she could not help doing by opposing Somers) it would prove to the world that both Godolphin and himself had lost all influence with her. The day before, he had written his colleagues that he despaired of having any effect upon the queen's mind, "for if she be obstinate, I think it is a plain declaration to all the world that you and I have no credit,

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 219-20.

and that all is governed underhand by Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham.’<sup>1</sup>

While Anne waited for Marlborough’s letter to arrive, the junto and Godolphin were moving heaven and earth to make her change her decision, but their outlook was discouraging as to both Somers and Montagu. Although all the Whigs who could gain access to the queen waited upon her to add their influence, the lord treasurer had to report his repeated failures.<sup>2</sup> The architect, Vanbrugh, observed that affairs were in “an odd way at court; all the interest of the Lord Treasurer and Lady Marlborough, backed by every man in the cabinet can [not] prevail with the Queen to admit my Lord Somers into anything not so much as to make him attorney general. She answers little to them, but stands firm against all they say.”<sup>3</sup> The duchess tried her best, but she was equally pessimistic. Secretary Boyle received a letter from Marlborough which he was to deliver to Anne, but being called away, he asked Godolphin to do it for him. Upon receiving the letter, “she laid it down upon her table, and would not open it while I stayed in the room, by which I am afraid it is not like to have any more effect than some other representations of the same kind have had from [me].”<sup>4</sup>

The duke was now thoroughly depressed, for he believed that no ordinary means could move Anne to admit Somers into her cabinet, so the “Whigs must be angry and consequently 38 [Godolphin] and 39 [Marlborough] not only are uneasy, but unsafe. All this 39 could bare if he could be so happy as to gain the love and estimate of 270

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XXIV. 210; Coxe, II. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Colville, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Godolphin to the duke. Coxe, II. 223. See also Coxe Papers, XXIV. 200, XXV. 1.

[Anne].”<sup>1</sup> Godolphin continued to write that Anne remained firm, and at last, both he and the junto, although they did not cease to importune, began to look towards the elections as the only hope of gaining any relief from her “tyranny.”<sup>2</sup> As a last resort, before plunging into the intricacies of the election, the Whigs intimated that in the autumn they would again move that the “invitation” be reopened. It was a foolish step, for until the elections were over, it would be only an idle threat; if the Whigs failed at the polls, it could never become anything more. In other words, the junto must win by a substantial margin, if it was to be able to coerce the queen. But it had no monopoly of this idea, for Harley was equally well informed, and made his plans accordingly.

In a sense, then, the canvass was a struggle of Anne and Harley against the ministry and junto. Both sides made early preparations for this election, which must come before the close of 1708. Harley and his agents were exceedingly active long before he ceased to be secretary,<sup>3</sup> and it is probable that his industry along these lines had increased the suspicions of his colleagues, who brought about his disgrace before he could mature plans for the new election. If his opponents expected to lessen Harley’s activity,\* they were mistaken, although Greg’s treason certainly did diminish his influence. Harley began to make ready early in 1707, and probably con-

<sup>1</sup> Marlborough to his wife. Coxe Papers, XXIV. 161. Some students believe that this letter was written to Anne. The cipher here is most difficult.

<sup>2</sup> Lansdowne MSS. (B. M.), 1236, f. 234; Coxe Papers, XXIV. 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 437. For the general activity, see Defoe’s *Review*, V., and *Conduct of Parties*; Coxe, II. 226; *Kenyon MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 442; Ellis Papers, Add. MSS., 28893, ff. 241, 278, 322, 329; *Other Side*, pp. 380-2.

<sup>4</sup> It is strange that after the election was in full sway Marlborough began to doubt whether Harley and Mrs. Masham had been implicated in the opposition to Somers. Coxe Papers, XXIV. 199.

trolled the elections in Wales and western England.<sup>1</sup> After receiving a letter from Tewkesbury, Harley decided to seek William Penn's aid in influencing the Quaker vote.<sup>2</sup> Only a month before his resignation St. John bewailed the fact that he was unable to find a borough where he could be sure of a return, and asked the secretary to render such help as he could.<sup>3</sup> Even after February, 1708, Harley continued to be active, and sought with some success to secure Shrewsbury's support.<sup>4</sup> In the rotten borough of Tregony he busied himself, while at Abington his influence was conspicuous,<sup>5</sup> although he was unable to keep the election out of the House of Commons.

It was well that Harley and St. John had been most diligent, for neither Godolphin nor the junto spared effort or money in endeavoring to defeat the Tory candidates. Fully as well as the Marlboroughs, they realized that the ministry's existence, and probably the continuation of the war, depended upon their efforts. Scotland's fortune, too, lay in the balance, for a Tory victory would probably mean a disruption of the union, which had been brought about with such great difficulty. After the dissolution of parliament, the junto and Godolphin entered into a close agreement to carry the poll.<sup>6</sup>

The industry of Harley and his followers was now greater than ever, although they found, to their dismay, that Marlborough was not at all remiss in his political duties,<sup>7</sup> since he had heard that Harley was thoroughly

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 329, 454. Harley's influence in this part of England was based upon his control of official appointments. *Ib.*, IV. 386, sq.; *Bath MSS.*, I. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 461.

<sup>3</sup> St. John had looked into matters at Cricklade, Devizes, and Westbury.

<sup>4</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 190-1; *Buccleugh MSS.* (H. M. C.), II., Pt. ii. 720.

<sup>5</sup> Roscoe, *Harley*, p. 13; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 517. Cf. Macknight, *Bolingbroke*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *Lockhart Papers*, I. 293-5.

<sup>7</sup> Hearne, II. 2-3, 400.

organizing his campaign. Harley's kinsman, Thomas Foley, was very active, and much worried over his chance in Hereford, because he feared the effect of the great amount of money being spent by his opponent, as well as the vigorous opposition of the Jacobites.<sup>1</sup>

Bribery played a large part in deciding some of the elections in 1708. Explicit charges of its use were made in petitions involving twenty-two seats.<sup>2</sup> One politician thought a large sum would be required to carry the election in Devizes, and his statement well illustrates the political methods then current. He asserted that if £500 should be judiciously employed in buying up one of the twenty-four councilmen, it would enable "Mr. Child . . . [to] elect a Mayor and as many burgesses, living in and out of the borough, as they please, and by that means secure the election of members to serve in Parliament forever." To this politician, the chief merit of the plan lay in the fact that the £500 "will not be bribery within the power of the House of Commons, it being only to elect a mayor."<sup>3</sup> Outright bribery was not as common as in 1705, although there are a few interesting cases. At Shrewsbury, two of the candidates ordered two thousand pairs of shoes, with the implication that they would be paid for if the shoemakers voted for them. At the same place, other electors were promised loans out of the borough treasury, without interest, for their votes, and charity funds were used to influence the election.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 254; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 437, 483-7.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XVI. 9-389, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 486. See also *C. J.*, XVI. 22, 436. Robert Pitt, member for Old Sarum, reported that Clarendon Park, which controlled the borough elections of Christchurch, was for sale at the neat price of £35,000. *Fortescue MSS.* (H. M. C.), I. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *C. J.*, XVI. 212, 247. At Wallingford there appeared to be no end of petty bribery. *Ib.*, XVI. 129, 242.

Bribery was extensive at Cambridge, and the Commons overruled the decision of the committee on elections.<sup>1</sup>

The poll at Thetford was a mere mercantile transaction, where among the magistrates, fifty guineas was the customary price. "One Mr. Baylis, a stranger, was their last chapman [purchaser], to whom they have sould themselves much dearer; for it hath cost him £3,000 to get a return from thence for the next Parliament, and that is but a litigious one, for Sir John Woodhouse will be petitioner against him."<sup>2</sup>

At Camelford the sitting member offered to spend £300 on the election and as much as £20 was offered for a single vote. Not only were the voters bribed, but the witnesses who were to appear before the committee of the house were tampered with.<sup>3</sup> "Treating," however, was the most usual form of bribery. At New Shoreham, "five days before the election, . . . above 30 strangers came . . . and spent great sums of money upon the election." Indeed, the majority of the publicans of the borough received from the sitting member at least £5 apiece for general entertainment, but the House decided in his favor on the technical ground that the treating had occurred before the "teste of the writ."<sup>4</sup> In fact, the whole spirit of the election seemed to have been to circumvent the plain intent of the laws passed against electoral corruptions during the previous twelve years.<sup>5</sup>

Elections throughout the realm were not as tempestu-

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XVI. 300-4.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Thompson, *Letters of Prideaux*, p. 200. *C. J.* (XV. 21) names the four candidates and Woodhouse's name is not among them. *Return of the Members of Parliament* (II. 12) does not mention him. See also J. Hervey, *Letter Books*, I. 234. £50 was paid for a single vote at Ludgerhall. *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *C. J.*, XVI. 274. For the St. Ives election, see *C. J.*, XVI. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, XVI. 53, 263.

<sup>5</sup> Defoe, *Review*, V. 38, 42, 63-4, 69-70, 118, 142.

ous as three years before, though definite charges of violence were presented in cases involving the right to nine seats. At Leominster the petitioner complained that the agents of his rival, Edward Harley, "behaved themselves in so rude and violent a manner, . . . to those who came to vote for the petitioner, that it appeared a sedition, rather than an election."<sup>1</sup> The usual election trickery, such as changing the date of the poll or making "faggot" voters was much resorted to by both Whigs and Tories.<sup>2</sup>

The outcome of the contest was for a long time doubtful, but the heats of the previous and succeeding elections were lacking. Lewis scarcely knew what to think about the pollings after they had been in progress a month, although he was aware that the Whigs expected to use the controverted elections as a means of strengthening a somewhat precarious hold upon the majority in the Commons.<sup>3</sup> Granville wrote that since the elections in which he had influence had not all gone as he desired, he should be unable to do anything for St. John, in whose behalf Harley never ceased to labor until he had found him a seat.<sup>4</sup> Early in the elections, Godolphin felt that with the Whig support, his party was sure to win. "The generality of them are as good as can be desired," he noted, "and there is little reason to doubt but the next Parliament will be well inclined to support the war . . . Mrs. Morley continues to be very inflexible. I still think

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XVI. 14. Nevertheless, the petition was withdrawn. *Ib.*, XVI. 138. For other examples of violence, see Hearne, I. 336. *S. P. Dom.*, Anne (IX. 100), contains an account of the Guildford election.

<sup>2</sup> See *C. J.*, XVI. 15, 22, 52, 55, 67, 93, 108. A Boyer, *Political State*, II. 604; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 489, 517; *Coke MSS.*, III. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Add. MSS.*, 4743, ff. 93-5; Newcastle Papers, *Add. MSS.*, 33084, f. 177. The London election was close. Luttrell, VI. 302-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 489. St. John's candidacy aroused a great deal of interest among the moderate Tories. The clergy were enlisted in St. John's behalf before the matter was concluded, and Atterbury's letters show that the laity had no monopoly of election tricks. *Ib.*, 490-501, *passim*.



that must alter. My only fear is that it will be too late.<sup>1</sup> The lord treasurer probably felt that Anne would consent to nominate Somers after the election, but he feared that then it would be too late to influence favorably the rather shaky condition of internal affairs. At any rate, he went ahead with his election activities and was ably seconded by Marlborough, who took a conspicuous part in the Banbury election.<sup>2</sup> Sunderland worked with them, and felt even more confident of the result than either, although he was pessimistic about the use Godolphin would make of the victory. "Our elections go on hitherto very prosperously," he confided to Marlborough, "and there is no reason to doubt but we [have] a very good Parliament, *but if the court go on in the way they are, it will be much alike whatever Parliament is chosen.*"<sup>3</sup>

Sunderland did his most daring work in Scotland, where the Whigs were too weak to carry the election of peers without Tory aid. After the Pretender's failure, a goodly number of Scots had been imprisoned under suspicion of treason, among the most important of whom was the Duke of Hamilton. To gain his support in the Scottish elections, Hamilton was liberated through Sunderland's aid, and at once began canvassing among his Scottish friends in behalf of the Whigs. The means employed were, even for those days, somewhat summary, and there was a complaint of "such influence used against us by great folks at London, that a great many of our old friends, and who are in the Queen's service, were frightened from us, so that it was a wonder we carried so many [peers]."<sup>4</sup> Sunderland's methods, in general,

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XXIV. 178. See also Burnet, V. 369; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Hearne, II. 2. Their candidate was defeated. *Ib.*, I. 400. *Py. Hist.*, VI. 745.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe Papers, XXIV. 167.

<sup>4</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 269. The Earl of Mar to Marlborough. Hamilton's first wife was Sunderland's sister. Coxe, II. 229, 231. See also *Portl. MSS.*,

were too crude to please Anne, who reminded Godolphin of his assurance that Sunderland should resign when his conduct ceased to satisfy her. Nevertheless the plans of the junto had the merit of succeeding,<sup>1</sup> both in the Lords, to which Scotland elected twenty-eight members, and in the lower house, where its contribution was forty-five. Such results made the ministerial majority in the Commons secure. Hamilton said that they had seventy more votes than at the beginning of the last session,<sup>2</sup> a margin which was considerably augmented in ways best known to those who conducted the disputed elections. In deciding these contests the discovery was soon made that the balance of power was held by the Scottish members, who, true to their traditions, were seeking to make the most of their position.<sup>3</sup>

The first trial of strength between the ministers and the Tories came in the election of the speaker. Although there was not the same intensity of feeling as in 1705, the ministers breathed more freely when the voting was over. Harley had begun to prepare for this struggle months before, and the constant proroguing of parliament gave him sufficient time to organize his forces thoroughly. As the time for the meeting of parliament drew near, Harley seemed doubtful whom his opponents would name as their candidate. This is not to be marveled at, because

II. 204; *Priv. Cor.*, II. 243-68. When Sunderland found the difficulties in Scotland greater than he anticipated, he wrote the Scottish Whigs, "bidding them not be bullied by the pretence of court interest, and the great names of the court party; for the Q\*\*\* could not support that faction long." Defoe, *State of Parties*, p. 25.

<sup>1</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 268-9; Mahon (II. 91) did not think they gained such a decided success among the peers, but believed that the court had its way in a goodly number of cases. Cf. Coxe, II. 231-3.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XXV. 8. The Earl of Manchester learned it was 44. *Manchester MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, XXIV. 245; Coxe Papers, XXIV., XXV. *passim*. See also *Lockhart Papers*, I. 531, and *Other Side*, p. 380.

the members of the junta were in a quandary themselves. The most prominent candidate, for a time, was Sir Peter King, who had a strong following. At first Anne refused to be a party to any selection, and allowed matters to go their way before she expressed her dislike of King<sup>1</sup> and her preference for Sir Thomas Hanmer. This made the junta uneasy, and its members preserved the greatest secrecy as to what they proposed to do.<sup>2</sup> Finally, after providing a place for King, they compromised with Godolphin by accepting Sir Richard Onslow as their candidate.<sup>3</sup> This move upset Harley's plans. He had expected a contest between King and Onslow, which would allow him to nominate Hanmer.<sup>4</sup> As it happened, however, a contest between Whigs and Tories never took place, for another critical situation arose which temporarily put an end to party struggles, and Onslow was chosen without difficulty.

With the election of a speaker, the ministry gained another advantage over Harley and the queen. The latter, for a while, took no interest in public affairs, and the former carried on the unequal struggle alone. Already the ministry had made political capital out of Anne's indisposition, and now they pressed their advantages in the controverted elections. The corruption and irregularities of this election were large, as petitions

<sup>1</sup> Anne disliked King because she suspected him of being active in moving the Admiralty investigations. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 115-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 192. James, III. 366-7; Coxe Papers, XIII. 274-5. At first, Anne favored Bromley. Mahon, p. 373; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 483. Both Bromley and Hanmer were speakers later in the reign.

<sup>3</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 35; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 505; Lansdowne MSS. (B. M.), 1236, f. 244. See also *Priv. Cor.*, I. 121. Nevertheless, a month later, Sunderland wrote Newcastle "to speak or send Mr. Jessop about the matter of the speaker, to engage him for Sir Peter King." Lansdowne MSS., 1236, f. 242.

<sup>4</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 745. Harley may also have had Bromley in mind. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 483.

disputing the right to ninety seats were presented.<sup>1</sup> Yet these petitions were not as striking as in the elections of 1705 and 1710.<sup>2</sup> The disputed election cases which arose, partly to settle the most notorious instances of bribery and partly to permit the ministry to increase appreciably its majority, were chiefly interesting because this was the first opportunity to test the new act, which required all persons accepting office under the crown to resign and stand for re-election.

This law seems to have caused no great difference in the way politicians handled disputed elections. These controversies continued to be heard at the bar of the house, by vote of the majority, it is true, although it was some years before the practice became established. At the same time, the Commons decided to try a new method of balloting, which was in substance identical with that employed by many secret societies today. The voting was done by balls, which were carried around in a box to each member's desk. But the new method of voting, like the law on controverted elections, was found entirely too cumbersome for these enterprising eighteenth century politicians, and after consuming more than three quarters of an hour on one ballot, "it was found so very tedious and troublesome 'tis thought it will never be made use of again."<sup>3</sup> Even then the house disposed of controverted elections slowly, and except in the most flagrant cases, had little "regaird for law or justice, [in that] they

<sup>1</sup> *C. J.*, XVI. 9-389, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 486-7, 513; *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 199-201. Cf. *Defoe's Review*, V.; *Coxe Papers*, XXVI. 148; *Porritt, Unreformed House of Commons*, I. 537-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Dayrolles Papers*, Add. MSS., 15863, f. 100; *Coxe Papers*, XIII. 247-9, 258. It was first employed in the trial of the Ashburton election in 1706. Later it was suggested that they use it in electing the speaker, but Sir Peter King opposed it. Cf. XV. 577. Godolphin complained that by such a method, the house would spend half its time on controverted elections.

turned out or brought in whom they pleased; and thereby made up a certain majority in all events,"<sup>1</sup> for they had to make their position safe against any future attacks by Anne and Harley.

Among others whom the Whigs disqualified in trying the elections, was Harcourt.<sup>2</sup> Neither in this case nor in any of the others where a division occurred, was the vote sufficiently close or the attendance sufficiently large to judge of the relative strength of the two parties,<sup>3</sup> but the "partiality manifested in the decisions fully proved the ascendancy of the Whigs."<sup>4</sup> In eighteen cases, the petitioner won; in fourteen, the sitting member was favored; twenty remained undecided; eighteen were withdrawn, and five were declared void. So it is difficult to come to any decision as to the results of these controverted elections or the reasons of the delay in hearing some petitions and of the failure to hear others.

As a result of the new law, the number of by-elections was unusually large. Of the sixty-seven seats vacated, twenty-four were due to the resignation of members who had accepted office under the queen; sixteen members had been elected for two constituencies, sixteen others had died, eight had been made peers and three elections had been declared void. Of the members who stood for re-election, only four failed to be returned at the by-elections.

While the pollings were going on, the struggle over Somers continued. When the elections began, Anne stood resolute against all efforts to force Somers into the cabinet. As his candidacy was one of the questions at issue,

<sup>1</sup> *Lockhart Papers*, I. 297; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 513.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 518.

<sup>3</sup> The Cirencester election petitioner won 135 to 116. In the Shrewsbury election, he won 127 to 85. Some of these contests occasionally went against the court. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 514; *Hearne*, I. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Coxe*, II. 376. *Cf.* *Burnet*, V. 396.

new developments might be expected as the canvass was being made. Indeed, the efforts of Somers's supporters suffered no cessation, for their greatest hope lay in wearing out the pertinacity of the queen. Marlborough, too, realizing that Godolphin was unable to cope with the situation alone, gave up all hopes of ruling by means of a bi-partisan ministry and was ready to throw himself into the hands of the junto.<sup>1</sup> Despite an informal agreement, the duke, while bitterly assailing the Tories,<sup>2</sup> never ceased to criticize the excessive demands of the Whig quintet. Unfortunately for his peace of mind, he continued to be disturbed by the machinations of Whigs and Tories before he could return to look after political affairs in person.

The queen was several times accused by both Godolphin and the junto of allowing Mrs. Masham to dictate her policies. Anne denied that she consulted either Harley or his cousin, so that the duchess and Godolphin believed that a mistake had been made and the wrong person accused. In seeking for the miscreant, the duchess and the junto concluded that the man was Admiral Churchill, working through Prince George,<sup>3</sup> and for a brief season they concentrated their attack upon him in an effort to force him to resign. The entire matter was most embarrassing to one as sensitive as the duke, but he wrote a strong letter to his brother, appealing to his patriotism

<sup>1</sup> It is asserted, on questionable authority, that Wharton held Godolphin in his power, through secrets which he possessed of the treasurer's intrigues with St. Germain. Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 30. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 120. His changed attitude was due to Harley's activity in 1707. Godolphin's part in Scottish elections is indicated by a fragment of John Ker's "Secret Memoirs" found in S. P. Dom., Anne, XXIV. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 42. However much the duke may have been alienated from Harley, he received the election results from Lewis. Add. MSS., 4743, ff. 93-5.

<sup>3</sup> Godolphin to Marlborough. Coxe, II. 223. Marlborough and Godolphin soon realized that Anne had deceived them.

and emphasizing the danger of weakening the administration at a critical time in the war.<sup>1</sup> Admiral Churchill proved only a little less obstinate than the queen; his brother's appeal availed little except to make him more uneasy, and increase his resentment. His proneness to gossip made matters worse. He repeated, presumably on the authority of Walpole, the secretary at war, that Harley had so far prevailed with Marlborough as to secure the appointment of a certain Colonel Jones as the head of a regiment.<sup>2</sup> This rumor created a suspicion among the Whigs that the duke was playing his usual game of deceit, (despite Walpole's emphatic assurance that Churchill had manufactured the story out of the whole cloth), while it increased the sense of security enjoyed by the queen and her consort, rendering the former still more impervious to the lord treasurer's recommendations.<sup>3</sup>

By this time, the junto was becoming restless, and planning not only to rid themselves of Churchill but to force Prince George's resignation through an inquiry into the numerous miscarriages in the Admiralty. Should this plan succeed the position of the prince as lord high admiral would be available for Pembroke, who could thus vacate his offices of lord president and lord lieutenant of Ireland in the interest of Somers and Wharton respectively.\* By this move they had all to gain and absolutely nothing to lose, since it was impossible to increase Anne's displeasure against the Whigs as a party and the junto as individuals. Sunderland was thoroughly alarmed by the queen's threat<sup>5</sup> to demand his resignation, because

<sup>1</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Godolphin to Marlborough. Coxe, II. 228. See also p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 273. See also Coxe, II. 228.

<sup>4</sup> A year and a half earlier, when Ormond ceased to be lord lieutenant, it was rumored that Pembroke would succeed him and relinquish the lord presidency to Somers. Hearne, II. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Sunderland was bitter for a time against Marlborough, but Mayn-

of his activities in Scotland. Wharton, the most active politician of the junto, had been interviewed by her agent, and Halifax was wavering under the importunities of Harley, because his brother had not been appointed attorney-general.<sup>1</sup> Harley's opposition had forced the Whigs to abandon Sir Peter King as their candidate for speaker, and choose one more to Anne's liking, so it was really a matter of self-preservation which led the junto to threaten Prince George unless the queen should give heed to their wishes.

Harley's intrigues were thus closely bound up with the queen's activities. Not only was he endeavoring to win over Halifax, the most wavering member of the junto, but he had made overtures to Shrewsbury, who, angry at the attitude of the ministry towards his romantic marriage to his Italian mistress, a Catholic, was ready under her influence to return to his early associations. The ladies at court looked askance at his new duchess, and Shrewsbury felt inclined to desert the scheming Whigs who had so little regard for his wife and were no longer willing to recognize his claims to office.<sup>2</sup> Through his co-operation, Harley saw an opportunity to form a coalition between the moderate Whigs and Tories, a plan which not only aroused the junto but thoroughly alarmed Marlborough and Godolphin.<sup>3</sup>

waring and Devonshire counseled moderation, since Anne was willing to wait for the duke's advice before taking the seals. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 150-2.

<sup>1</sup> This agent was Somerset, and his endeavors were unsuccessful. Maynwaring reported that "nobody could have . . . better pretensions to any employment than his Lordship [Wharton] and that he might command his services and good offices with the Queen, for whatever could be acceptable to him." *Priv. Cor.*, I. 156. Harley endeavored throughout to keep on good terms with Halifax. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 490.

<sup>2</sup> *Shrewsb. Cor.*, p. 663; *Buccleugh MSS.* (H. M. C.), II. Pt. ii. 720; *Bath MSS.*, I. 191. Lady Marlborough had been trying to gain Shrewsbury for the ministry. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 114-5.

<sup>3</sup> See Lewis's letter to Harley. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 490, and *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 42.



In the meantime, the former was forced to take cognizance of Sunderland's offensiveness and pleaded with Anne not to dismiss him. "For God's sake, Madam, consider that whatever may be said to amuse or delude you," he wrote, "it is utterly impossible for you to have more than a part of the Tories; and though you could have them all, their number is not capable of doing you good, no more than their inclination."<sup>1</sup> Neither this letter nor any of the many others from Marlborough shook her determination, and the attempt to alarm her by threatening to bring over Sophia or the electoral prince had only a brief success, since she was becoming accustomed to these threats about Hanover.

At the least suggestion of attacking the record of her husband, she was again galvanized into instant action.<sup>2</sup> It was well for the Whig leaders that Providence was on their side. Prince George was very sick, and on account of his fondness for intoxicating liquors, it was certain that he could not live long. Anne, being a model of affection and devotion, preferred to nurse him rather than to develop political schemes with Harley to circumvent the junto. Her own health, too, was suffering, while the duke's influence increased because of his third great victory at Oudenarde, the news of which reached England

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Already Anne had written some pointed things to Marlborough about certain expressions he employed in a letter to Godolphin, which the latter gave her to read. Coxe, II. 281. A week earlier, she was not greatly disturbed by Marlborough's threat to resign at the close of the campaign, probably because she did not believe he meant it. *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 42. Even in her letter of felicitation, Anne could not refrain from criticizing one of Marlborough's letters in which he said that victory would bring advantages to England, if she "would please make use of it." Anne answered sharply that she would "never make ill use of so great a blessing . . . I shall be glad to know what use you would have me make of it, and then I will tell you my thoughts very freely and sincerely." Reid, p. 259.

just as the election returns pointed to the success of the Whigs.

It might be surmised that with an advantage like this the junto would gain an easy as well as an early triumph over the queen and Harley. Such, however, was not the case. Immediately after his return, Marlborough informed Anne that he would take no further part in domestic affairs, but confine himself to military matters. To this she replied, "I shall always look upon you as both [counselor and general] and never separate the two characters, but ask your advice in both capacities on all occasions."<sup>1</sup> Anne's frankness in this and other letters, apparently disarmed Marlborough's suspicions of the queen whom he had always respected and loved,<sup>2</sup> and his attitude became more friendly as the Whigs began to complain more than ever of the equivocal behavior of the duke and the lord treasurer. The Earl of Marchmont reported that Somers noticed Godolphin's neglect of the junto almost immediately. The Scottish peer noted that the situation at court "appears very odd. The Treasurer, who was the sole management, seems to have little deference for the Whig lords, of which they seem themselves very sensible; and at the same time it is hard to imagine how [he] shall be able to support himself without them. Some talk of attempts and interviews towards a good correspondence between him and the Tories, which

<sup>1</sup> Reid, p. 256; *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 42. This letter gives some idea of Anne's ability to defend herself. See also Reid, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Here is one of Anne's letters, which breathes sincerity in every line: "I hope you cannot doubt of my esteem and friendship for you, nor think that because I differ with you in some things, it is for want of either: no, I do assure you. If you were here you would not think me so much in the wrong in some things as I fear you do now." *Coxe Papers*, XXV. 128. Of Marlborough's reverence for Anne, there is no question. "I own to you," he wrote his wife, "I have a tenderness for the Queen, and being persuaded it is the fault of those whom she loves, and not her own when she does what is wrong." *Coxe*, II. 280.

seems more odd, that he should take a party by the hand, that seems weaker<sup>1</sup> this, than any were the last session of Parliament.’”

This change of policy by the ministerial leaders was quite natural. At all times, they chafed under the junto’s arrogant demands. Consequently, when Marlborough’s added prestige gave them their opportunity, they sought once more to rise above the political factions in their administration.

Though the two ministers were turning for the moment away from the Whigs, they fully realized that they could expect little support from the Tories,<sup>2</sup> despite the promises of Harley and St. John, both of whom they distrusted.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, each gradually realized that Mrs. Masham had gained more and more of Anne’s confidence. Rumors were also current that Lord Raby (late envoy at Berlin), Baron Haversham (formerly a strenuous Whig), and Peterborough had joined “Harley and all that Cabal” against the Whigs, and that Rochester had, through the mediation of Bromley, affected a full reconciliation with Harley.<sup>4</sup> Worst of all, the candidacy of Somers seemed to make no progress, despite all the agencies promoting it.

For the members of the junto, all was not gloom, however, as Harley’s new alliances drove the duke and Godolphin into a closer union with them. Indeed, both were

<sup>1</sup> *Marchmont Papers* (H. M. C.), III. 335-6. See *ib.*, 332.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough to the Duchess. Coxe, II. 273. The duke was by no means certain that the Whigs could support him in the prosecution of the war, so he asked Sunderland to get the opinion of the three other active members of the junto and report to him at once. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 496; Reid, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> St. John kept up his correspondence with the duke after he resigned from the ministry. Coxe Papers, XXX. 9; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 277.

<sup>4</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 279; Coxe, II. 282, 291, 303. The duke was plainly disturbed at the “dismal prospect.”

now willing to force Churchill from the Admiralty, although the duke refused to bind himself to act entirely against Anne's wishes. He agreed to oppose the Tories, "but as to the invitation, or what else may be personal to the Queen, in regard to myself, as well as concern for her, I must never do anything that looks like flying in her face . . . I must be master of my own actions, which may concern the Queen personally."<sup>1</sup> In answer to the junto's insistent importunities, he wrote a little later that he was willing to ally himself closely with it, but "for their sakes, and that of the public, as well as my own reputation, I must be master of judging of my own actions towards the Queen; for sooner or later we must have her out of the hands of Mrs. Masham, or everything will be labour in vain."<sup>2</sup>

Were the queen as negligible a factor in political life as is generally supposed, it is difficult to account for the value which Marlborough placed upon her influence in state affairs. More important still, the complaints of Godolphin about Harley's increasing authority and the animosity of the junto towards queen and ministers alike are inexplicable, unless we assume that Anne possessed great potential power, which she was not afraid to exercise when her will was crossed. The fears of the lord treasurer and the duke, as well as the criticism of the junto, show that a vast deal depended upon her decisions. The struggle over Somers seems clearly to indicate this. Although the duke refused to go all lengths against the queen, the members of the junto decided to make the most they could of his aid against the Tories. Mean-

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough to Godolphin. Coxe, II. 282. "I can't entirely agree with your opinion of the Queen;" he wrote his wife later, "I must own I have a tenderness for her, and would willingly believe that all which is amiss proceeds from the ambition and ill judgment of Mrs. Masham, and the knavery and artfulness of Mr. Harley." *Ib.*, II. 297.

while they continued to weary poor Godolphin with new and insistent demands for action, and urged the duchess to continue harassing her husband with similar suggestions, particularly with regard to his brother. Willing as he was to rid the ministry of such a discordant member, Marlborough was yet reluctant to force the issue upon the queen. After some consideration, he decided that the only way to keep from offending her was to avoid making suggestions about domestic affairs, though Anne saw in this decision an ominous threat of the loss of his support, and took him again to task, maintaining she could not "forbear" consulting him and asking his "opinion in everything; there being nobody but you and Lord Treasurer that I do advise with, nor can rely on, which I will yet hope you will believe."<sup>1</sup> She closed her letter by reminding him that she was one whose opinions of the Whigs remained the same as "ever they were from the time that I have ever been capable of having notions of things and people; and I must own I can see no reason to alter mine." In other words, she could not conscientiously favor the admission of even the most moderate of the junto into her council, because she disapproved of their so-called republican principles. Besides, she disliked Somers personally, because he was the "first promoter of Whiggism as a political faith" and because his record as William's minister had displeased her, but more particularly because her husband thought him the "real author of the recent attacks upon the admiralty."<sup>2</sup>

To the objections the queen urged against putting herself under the control of the junto, Marlborough answered that if she were reasonably complaisant, she need "not to apprehend falling into any hands but ours [the duke's and Godolphin's], who have done you so very many faith-

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 284. This letter clearly shows Anne's spirit of determination.

<sup>2</sup> Mahon, II. 88; *Society in the New Reign* (1904), p. 139.

ful services.”<sup>1</sup> This failed to convince her, but their joint threat of resignation brought forth both another protest and another clever appeal to their patriotism. “I can never be satisfied the junto mean well to my service,” she said, “till they behave themselves better than they did in the last Parliament, and have done ever since the rising of it; for from that minute they had been disputing my authority, and are certainly designing, when the new one meets to tear the little prerogative the Crown has to pieces.”<sup>2</sup> The kernel of the whole matter lay in the word ‘prerogative,’ truly a magic word for all the Stuarts. For it Anne would fight to the last, as her father and grandfather had done before her.

Faced with such determination, there is little wonder that the junto became peevish, particularly the impatient, impertinent Sunderland.<sup>3</sup> The question of the succession remained an open one, while the war abroad was still in a critical stage; but worst of all was the fear lest the duke’s military victories should render him more independent of the Whigs and make practicable another alliance with the moderate Tories.<sup>4</sup> Before affairs should come to that pass, they determined to force Prince George to resign. Had they possessed either mercy or patience, they would have waited to ascertain the outcome of the latter’s serious illness, but the members of the junto possessed neither of these virtues;

<sup>1</sup> Marlborough to the queen. Coxe, II. 293. It is doubtful whether this is an exact transcript of Marlborough’s letter, as it comes from the draft sent him by Godolphin as best suiting the needs of the occasion, and may have been slightly changed.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 292. See also *ib.*, II. 291, for Lady Marlborough’s letter to the duke.

<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne MSS. (B. M.), 1236, f. 236. He foolishly imagined that the ministerial leaders planned to bring over the Pretender, and urged the Whigs to cut loose from the ministry. *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 479.

<sup>4</sup> Maynwaring to the duchess. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 155.

besides they could afford to take no chances. Their opportunity lay in his condition, as it not only occupied Anne's leisure<sup>1</sup> but rendered her willing to make concessions, if they would only permit her beloved husband to be free from the excitement accompanying an investigation of his official conduct. To shield the stricken prince, they believed she would yield to any ordinary demand. In these hours of great distress, when she realized that there was no chance of George's recovery, the queen stood almost alone. Only the faithful Mrs. Masham remained to comfort her. Occasionally, perhaps, Harley was able to send in a word of consolation. The junto was relentless, Godolphin obdurate, the duchess unfriendly; so the stricken woman was left unconsolated. It was manifest as the days passed that she must choose between seeing her husband's dying moments disturbed with the fury of partisan political attacks, and allowing the Whigs to have their way.

The duke, unaware of the prince's critical illness, had given up all hope of securing Somers's appointment, save by the removal of Mrs. Masham, and he was doubtful if that could be accomplished. The members of the junto again threatened to abandon Godolphin, and Marlborough knew that they would keep their word unless Anne relented. So he decided to appeal to his brother in an effort to avert the disaster.<sup>2</sup> It is inconceivable that any letter could be more brutally frank than one the duke sent to the admiral, on this occasion. However, as

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MSS. (B. M.), 825, f. 79; Coxe Papers, XIII. 130; *Duke of Manchester MSS.* (H. M. C.), Pt. ii. 90. Dartmouth said of Mrs. Masham, "at night she slept on a pallet in the ante room of her Majesty's bedroom within call; the Queen often supported Prince George when he was labouring under the dreadful attacks of asthma, and she required some help beyond what her strength could afford." Strickland, XII. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XXV. 156. He thought military success alone would enable him to keep down the junto, if the queen refused to allow their plans

it was the last of several on the same topic, some of its candor may be justified. "Finding you still continue in the Prince's Council, and the Parliament now so near, I cannot be so wanting, either to you or to myself, as not to tell you plainly with all the kindness of a brother, and the sincerity of a friend, that if you do not take an unalterable resolution of laying down that employment before the Parliament sits, you will certainly do the greatest disservice imaginable to the Queen and Prince, the greatest prejudice to me, and bring yourself into such inconveniences as may last as long as you live, and from which it is wholly impossible to protect you."<sup>1</sup>

Anne was still reluctant, and the Whigs blamed Godolphin for failing to appoint Somers. To the querulousness of Sunderland was now added the complaint of Somers, that "after the service which I and my friends have performed in promoting the Union, they [Godolphin and Marlborough] will hardly treat me with common civility."<sup>2</sup> Cowper, moderate Whig though he was, and daily growing in the queen's favor, felt constrained to ask Newcastle to hurry to London, that the party leaders might take counsel how best to prevent a division among the Whigs, which might bring the Tories into power.<sup>3</sup> In his despair, Sunderland held conferences with such important Whigs as the dukes of Bolton and Devonshire, Lords Oxford and Coningsby. They made pointed reflections upon Prince George's administrative ability, and decided to ask Godolphin to put Pembroke in his place.

to go through. August 2, the duke wrote his wife, "I know the Queen would venture everything to effect the dividing of the Whigs." Coxe, II. 282, 286. Seven weeks later, he averred that Anne was "not capable of being changed by reason." *Priv. Cor.*, I. 160.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 357. See Klopp, XII. 178. See also Marlborough's letters to the duchess. Coxe, II. 282-91; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 132-6; Mahon, II. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Swift, *Change of Ministry*, p. 14; Coxe, II. 355.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 205.



Wharton, another member of the junto, displayed his plentiful temper upon receiving the lord treasurer's usual promises of co-operation.<sup>1</sup>

Until after October 19, 1708, the leading members of the junto continued to act upon the supposition that the queen would not give way. Harley's friends kept him well informed of the trials and tribulations of Godolphin and the junto. Early in October he heard that Anne had refused "to enter into any capitulation" with the junto or permit Godolphin to do so, although he used Somerset as his intermediary. Neither would she accept the lord treasurer's resignation, nor give him or the Whigs any satisfaction about Somers.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Harley was urged to hasten to court, as his influence with Anne might be decisive, since affairs were rapidly<sup>3</sup> reaching a climax. Matters looked desperate for the ministry. To so adept a politician as St. John, it seemed that the "pear was ripe" and the Tories might defeat the junto. To Harley he wrote: "You broke the party, unite it again, their sufferings have made them wise, and whatever piques or jealousies they may entertain at present, as they feel the success of better conduct these will wear off and you will have it in your power by reasonable measures to lead them to reasonable ends."<sup>4</sup> The Hanoverian family grew restive because of the ministerial attitude and the junto must have known it. Another evidence of the close quarters into which Sunderland and his brethren were driven lies in the fact that they had

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MSS. (B. M.), 1236, f. 238; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 508-9. Godolphin refused to consider this proposition, but suggested that they allow the prince to remain in office, and empower his council to act for him.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 507-9. Edwards, *Founders of Br. Museum*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> "Your friend thinks your being here is very necessary, and that her Majesty . . . would be the better of assistance and good advice." Harleian MSS. (B. M.), 7526, f. 237.

<sup>4</sup> *Bath MSS.* (H. M. C.), I. 192.

written to friends on the Continent asking them to strive for peace with France, insinuating that both Marlborough and Godolphin would oppose it.<sup>1</sup>

Prince George held the real key to the situation as he lay wheezing for breath to sustain him from hour to hour. The faithful queen, overwhelmed with grief, with her own health undermined by patient vigils at his bedside,<sup>2</sup> could fight no longer, and she made a conditional surrender, permitting Sir James Montagu to become attorney-general.<sup>3</sup> With real relief, Godolphin wrote his colleague, "The Queen is at last brought to allow me to make such condescensions, which, if done in time, would have been sufficient to have eased most of our difficulties." Yet, even then, he felt that the Whigs would demand more than she might be willing to grant, and urged Marlborough to hurry to his aid, for the "Queen suspended her decision, [and] an interval of several days elapsed which was marked with the highest anxiety."<sup>4</sup> Godolphin's cares did not last long. Prince George died October 28, leaving his post vacant. Churchill, his favorite, unable to stand unaided against the onslaughts of the Whigs, retired. The queen was for a time inconsolable, and left all administrative affairs to Godolphin.

After more than eight months' ceaseless importuning, Anne surrendered unconditionally. Montagu was at last appointed, Wharton became lord lieutenant of Ireland, Pembroke lord high admiral, and Somers won the coveted

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 507-9.

<sup>2</sup> Since October 4, he had been given up by all his physicians. *Portl. MSS.*, II. 205. "The Queen watched with him all last night, but . . . has promised to take some rest this afternoon." *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 509. Northey had expected the place. *Ib.*, IV. 501.

<sup>4</sup> *Coxe*, II. 358. Six days before the prince passed away, it looked as if Harley's solicitations had won over Halifax, but the assurance that his brother would be made attorney-general kept him faithful to the junto. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 162-6.

position of lord president.<sup>1</sup> The queen had resisted as long as possible, and had delayed the fulfilment of the wishes of the junto for nearly a year after Harley had been driven from court. With the support of Mrs. Masham, she had been almost a match for her leading ministers and the junto; moreover, even in defeat, she retained her waiting woman, despite the opposition. Strong bonds of sympathy had existed between Anne and the two "triumvirs" remaining in her ministry, but with the new accessions to the council, power passed unreservedly into the hands of the Whig leaders, whom she detested, individually and collectively.

<sup>1</sup> Godolphin-Osborne Papers, Add. MSS., 28041, f. 18; *Mar and Kellie MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 469; *La Vie d'Anne Stuart*, I. 268; Coxe Papers, XIII. 276.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE TRIUMPH OF THE QUEEN (1709-1710)

THE Prince of Denmark's death was attended with little sorrow from the English masses, but with the greatest possible grief on Anne's part.<sup>1</sup> More than a quarter of a century had these two royal personages lived happily together, since the only sorrow which came to them arose, apparently, from the presence of those eighteen little graves in Westminster Abbey.

The prince had not proved an important factor in politics, as his only real interest lay in keeping the High Church from becoming more intolerant.<sup>2</sup> His chief function lay in his very passivity, for to him alone could Anne pour out her wrath against the Tories, the junto, and the duchess in turn, without the least danger that he would seek to make political capital out of her confidence. He acted as a safety valve to keep the queen contented with her lot; for his disposition caused him to advocate moderation when Anne was very desirous of throwing off her dependence upon both Marlborough and the lord treasurer.<sup>3</sup>

Not only was Anne deeply grieved at her husband's

<sup>1</sup> Dayrolles Papers, Add. MSS., 15866, f. 135; Schaumann, *Geschichte der Erwerbung*, p. 112; Defoe's *Review*, V. 409; Rijks Archief, lias, 6945.

<sup>2</sup> Schaumann, *op. cit.*, p. 111; *Life of Calamy*, II. 112-6; Macky's *Memoirs*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Reid, p. 287; Wilson, *Defoe*, III. 39; Anne declared that George never knew of her quarrel with the duchess, for whom he had a high regard. Burnet, V. 391. Lewis thought him of little consequence. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 510.

death, but she had become an invalid herself. From the early days of her reign, she had been troubled with the gout, and now dropsy began to manifest itself. With so little common sense in selecting her diet, it is surprising that she kept as well as she did. Her appearance early in 1709 is given us by the vigorous hand of Sir John Clark. "She appeared to me the most despicable mortal I had ever seen in any station," he wrote, "the poor lady, as I saw her twice before, was again under a severe fit of gout, ill-dressed, blotted in her countenance, and surrounded with plaisters, cataplasma, and dirty like rags."<sup>1</sup> From such a sufferer, the Whigs, and even Godolphin, expected little opposition for a long time to come.

Four months passed before Anne could so assuage her grief as to take any considerable interest in public business, and Godolphin was able to respond to the demands made by the members of the junto that their followers, as well as themselves, should be admitted to office. But, just as the lord treasurer had foreseen, his yielding even in a slight degree only whetted their appetite for more. This fact forced him to face their repeated threats with continued apprehension, as he knew that if he did not speedily provide places for the Whigs, he could not hope for their support. He failed also to realize that the prince had done much to moderate Anne's plans, and make her favorable to the Whigs, and that she was filled with resentment against the men who had made George's last days more miserable, if possible, than they already were.

Even this feeling was aggravated when the ill-advised zeal of some members of parliament resulted in an ad-

<sup>1</sup> Gray, *Memoirs of Sir John Clark*, pp. 71-2. It is possible that Anne was unduly fond of intoxicants, although she was certainly no match for her husband in that respect. Cole MSS. (B. M.), XXXI. 145; *Notes & Queries* (9th Series), XI. 24; Granger, *Biographical Dict.*, I. 8.

dress that "she would not suffer her just grief so far to prevail, but would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage." This was put into more parliamentary language, passed, and actually sent to Anne less than three months after her bereavement! She looked upon it as an insult, or at best, an impertinence. In her diplomatic way, she said: "The provision I have made for the Protestant Succession, will always be a proof, how much I have at heart the future happiness of the kingdom. The subject of this address is of such a nature that I am persuaded you do not expect a particular answer."<sup>1</sup> This pert rejoinder prevented any further allusion to the matter in parliament.

While Anne was bitterly lamenting her recent loss, and sorrowing over the death of all her children, the Jacobites decided to take advantage of her bereavement, and persuade her that her sorrows were due to her treatment of her father and brother. An anonymous letter directed Anne's attention to the fate of her sister, who had the effrontery to accept her father's throne, and died childless; it further insisted that the end of her reign would mean a recurrence of the Wars of the Roses, unless she settled the crown upon the Pretender, James Edward.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen the bad feelings which were engendered through the quarrel of Mrs. Masham and the duchess in 1707, but with Harley out of the cabinet, one might expect that Anne's relations with the lowly Abigail would cause little difficulty. Such did not prove to be the case. In ridding the ministry of a troublesome intriguer, the Marlboroughs had not been able to close the breach be-

<sup>1</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 777-8. It was rumored in Paris that Marlborough was promoting the suit of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel. *Journal de Dangeau*, XII. 345. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CLXXX. 225-6.

tween Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Morley, as is clearly indicated ten days after Harley's dismissal, by the duchess's letter to the queen. This message was filled with reproaches because Anne had been privy to the schemes of Harley and St. John to overthrow the ministry.

Finding her scoldings had the customary result, the duchess decided to give up a losing fight and retired to the country, leaving a note which gave her reasons for going away, and suggesting that when conditions should compel her resignation, Anne would keep the promise of bestowing her court employments upon her daughters.<sup>1</sup> This move awakened no regrets in the heart of Mrs. Morley, but at once brought forth protests from Sunderland, who assured his mother-in-law, the duchess, that she was taking the surest method of insuring the ascendancy of her rival in Anne's affections.<sup>2</sup> As a result, Lady Marlborough soon returned to court, although her attitude was scarcely conciliatory, or even courteous. Such surliness brought forth from Anne the complaint, which she sent direct to Marlborough in Holland, that it was useless to attempt to conceal the true state of affairs between herself and the duchess as long as she had at her side such observant ladies as the Duchess of Somerset and Lady Fitzharding.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Sharp was in Anne's confidence, and he found her so pleased with Abigail as to preclude any idea that she would ever consent to give her up.<sup>4</sup>

In the meanwhile, Harley kept in touch with the progress of the quarrel through Mrs. Masham, whose dislike for her domineering cousin steadily increased.

<sup>1</sup> *Wentworth Papers*, p. 98; Coxe, II. 204. Apparently Sarah was willing to resign, if the Countess of Sunderland might have her places.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 210; Maynwaring and the duke also warned her. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 119-32.

<sup>3</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34518, ff. 48-9; Reid, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> Sharp, I. 330-1, diary entry of April 4, 1708.

Abigail became so alarmed at the growth of Lady Marlborough's influence in the early months of 1708 that she wished a personal conference with Harley.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the duke was worried as to the probable outcome of his wife's disagreement with the queen, because he had a feeling that Anne and Harley, with Abigail's aid, were more than a match for Godolphin and the duchess. Moreover, he questioned his own ability to check Harley's insidious activity in preparing Anne's mind to accept any peace which Louis XIV might be willing to grant.<sup>2</sup> Such propositions involved the duke in diplomatic difficulties which he wished to avoid; particularly when he was co-operating with Godolphin in carrying elections and placing Somers in the cabinet. In this dilemma, he abandoned all hope of prevailing upon Anne to give up Abigail, so he decided to withdraw gradually from non-military affairs, feeling that since she was "fonder of Mrs. Masham than me, I am sure . . . there can be no happiness, I mean quietness."<sup>3</sup>

Although Harley and his friends knew that the queen had scolded Marlborough for withdrawing his support, they continued to encourage her to stand up for her rights.\* Their efforts were most timely, in the light of all that she had suffered from Sarah's tongue and pen, as well as from the never-ending demands of Godolphin

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 93. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 216. See also *Priv. Cor.*, I. 120, 131, 139, 143.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe, II. 279; Coxe Papers, XXIV. 200. For a time, both the duke and his wife thought that Mrs. Masham had no political influence. *Ib.*, XXIV. 199. This must have been due to Anne's extreme care in consulting Harley. On repeated occasions, she discouraged Abigail from holding secret conferences with him. Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, ff. 93d-6d.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently they were finding the task rather difficult on account of her ill health. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 494. According to their simple cipher, the queen lacked "ready money" [courage]. Mrs. Masham to Harley, *ib.*, IV. 499.



in behalf of the junto. In forming all the Tory plans, St. John was helpful in attempting to make some sort of agreement with the moderate Tories. Raby had joined with Harley, and Lewis kept him informed of important happenings at court.

It boded ill for Harley's plans that the elections went against him. However, it did not seem at first that Anne would be any more submissive, and the duke remained pessimistic. He at last discovered his error in thinking Abigail was innocent of all intrigues. "I see the Queen is determined to support, and I believe at last own her," he confided to his wife. "I am of the opinion I ever was of, that the Queen will not be made sensible, or frightened out of this passion, but I can't but think some ways might be found to make Mrs. Masham very much afraid." Marlborough, acknowledging that Anne had a mind of her own, sought to strike terror to the heart of the favorite. Such recognition of the queen's will-power, from a man who had the best opportunity of judging her character from her girlhood, must be accepted as of considerable force, even though it may upset preconceived notions of her personality. Not once, but several times did he voice the same sentiments. "I am sure that the interest of Mrs. Masham is so settled with the Queen, that we only trouble ourselves to no purpose;" he wrote several days later, "for by endeavoring to hurt, we do good offices to her; so that in my opinion, we ought to be careful of our own actions."<sup>1</sup>

The duke had no idea that the duchess would make use of this message, but she was desperate. Realizing that she had lost favor with the queen, she thought her husband's letter might cause Anne to relent, so she sent it to her with a note. This move widened the breach

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 285, 291. The duke also said that "42 [the queen] is not capable of being changed by reason." *Priv. Cor.*, I. 161.

between the two women. Even the duke's victory at Oudenarde indirectly contributed to the same result. When the news of the battle arrived, Anne proclaimed a special thanksgiving, and the duchess, as was her custom, laid out the jewels the queen was to put on. Acting upon Abigail's suggestion, Anne decided not to wear them; consequently, Lady Marlborough's anger mounted high and she, in the procession, had hot words with the queen, telling her "to hold her tongue." Later, she wrote, commenting on the queen's refusal as an interference with her official duties, and closing with the barbed reflection that "your Majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me when you were going to return thanks for a victory obtained by my Lord Marlborough." But Sarah soon learned that she had no monopoly of taunting phrases, as she had deeply wounded the queen's dignity. "After the commands you gave me on the thanksgiving day of not answering you," Anne wrote, "I should not have troubled you with these lines, but to return the Duke[']s letter . . . and for the same reason do not say anything to that, nor to yours which enclosed it."<sup>1</sup>

Curt words like these would have checked a less indomitable spirit than that of the duchess. Feeling that she was unlikely to gain Anne's good will as long as Abigail remained at court, Lady Marlborough turned all her powers of invective against the favorite. "I cannot think it was very just to disgrace some of your faithful servants," she said, "for some that have betrayed you, . . . nor . . . was it any great proof of your Majesty's constancy to leave Lord Marlborough and me for Mr. Harley and a woman I took out of a garret."<sup>2</sup>

The duchess was placed at a great disadvantage. Anne made no attempt to fight back, and nothing could have

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 219-20; *Other Side*, pp. 369-70; Strickland, XII. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, p. 280. See also *ib.*, pp. 277-8.

been more exasperating to Lady Marlborough than the queen's stern taciturnity. Anne persisted in taking her at her word, but the latter sought a private interview, in which she planned to present her arguments against Harley and Mrs. Masham. With that end in view, she prepared the topics of conversation<sup>1</sup> long beforehand. The meeting was stormy and ended little to the satisfaction of either. Anne refused to give up Abigail or Harley, and was insulted by Sarah's reflections on her friendship for Lord Haversham; whereas the duchess refused to be reconciled unless Mrs. Masham was driven from court.

At last, the duchess concluded that further attempts to secure Anne's good will were futile—a decision which met the warmest approbation of the duke, who had urged it so long. The personal relations of Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman seemed at an end when circumstances afforded the latter an opportunity of a reconciliation, at a time when Anne was in a great need of sympathy. As soon as it was apparent that Prince George could survive but a few hours, the duchess forced her way to the queen's side, and for a time it seemed as if the reconciliation might be permanent. The initiative had been taken by Lady Marlborough, and Mrs. Masham shared Anne's confidence with her. While Mrs. Freeman complained that Abigail was always with the queen, Mrs. Masham insisted that Mrs. Freeman was afraid to leave the queen's elbow for fear she might have a word with her. "There is care taken that she shall not be alone," Mrs. Masham explained to Harley, "for since the misfortune the Lady P[re] [Marlborough] has hardly left her so long as to let her say her private prayers but stays constantly with

<sup>1</sup> They cover Harley's disloyal attitude towards his fellow "triumvirs," the shifting disposition of the Tories in whom Anne placed so much confidence, and the personal attacks Haversham had made upon the queen. Coxe, II. 295.

her. My lady's friends say 'tis fit she should (and they hope she always will) to keep that jade my cousin Kate [Mrs. Masham] from her."<sup>1</sup> Thus the endurance contest proceeded, until Sarah could forbear no longer. She publicly slighted Mrs. Masham by failing to deliver Anne's message to her and once more alienated the queen.

The final quarrel between Anne and Lady Marlborough did not come at once. Few historians have realized that their relations were so near the breaking point immediately after Somers had become president of the council.<sup>2</sup> One writer maintains that at this time Marlborough was at the height of his glory, and was the real ruler of England, holding Anne "in captivity within her own palace." The duke's estimate of his influence was different, even after he knew that the junto had won its battle over Somers. "England can't be safe but by a right understanding between the queen and the Whigs. I am pleased at what you write that the Lord Treasurer had some reason to believe that some of the Whigs are making up to Mrs. Masham, for I hope you are of my mind, that when England is safe, I had rather anybody would govern than I."<sup>3</sup> Godolphin, as well as the duchess, was alarmed as to the consequences of Abigail's steady association with Anne during her period of mourning. The day after the queen became a widow, he begged the duke to hasten back to England to prevent the ruin of his plans by Harley and his cohorts.<sup>4</sup> Both Marlborough and his duchess were plainly worried over this threatened union of Mrs. Masham with the Whigs, as well as the more

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 511; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 410. See Swift, *Change of Ministry*.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 240; Coxe, II. 361. It was weeks, possibly months, before Godolphin and Marlborough realized that the breach was such that a reconciliation was practically impossible. Burnet, V. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Marlborough to the Duchess. Coxe, II. 383.

<sup>4</sup> Coxe, II. 358. Somers feared the worst, and wrote Newcastle to hurry home as rapidly as possible. *Portl. MSS.*, II. 206.

imminent defection of Halifax.<sup>1</sup> Day by day, it became increasingly apparent that Anne and her secret advisers had some definite plans in view, but as to the nature of those plans, even the most astute of the Whigs were unable to venture a guess.

With the duchess and her lord both pessimistic about their future relations with the queen, Godolphin found his position even more depressing than before. The duchess had concluded that it would be only a matter of time before she would have to give up her keys as groom of the stole, and the duke was openly making plans to retire from the turmoil of public life. As their loss of prestige became apparent, the clamor of the Whigs for offices increased, and Godolphin's trials multiplied, as members of the junto were now thoroughly assured that they held the balance of power.

Of all the men in political life, Harley was probably the busiest.<sup>2</sup> Taking his cue from the appointment of Somers and the quarrel with the duchess, he convinced Anne how thoroughly she was being governed by her principal ministers, who were keeping her "from conversing with any but such as were tools or creatures of their own, so that in some respect she was a kind of state prisoner [and not treating] her with the respect and deference which was due to her, seeing they did not design to know and follow her pleasure and commands in matters of state, but dictated, as if it belonged to them to prescrive, and incumbent upon her to comply. That they had admitted into the government a set of men, Whigs, who were enemies to herself, her family and all the crowned heads, and that

<sup>1</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 168, 190; Mahon, II. 121. By the middle of 1709, Anne had expressly forbidden Sarah to mention Abigail's name in her letters or conversation. Coxe Papers, XV. 123-6.

<sup>2</sup> He was aided by St. John, Bromley, and Harcourt. Oldmixon, III. 429; *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 534.

these people's maxims and designs would be prosecuted and terminate in her ruin, and the subversion of the crown and mitre.'"<sup>1</sup>

Harley's policy was difficult to combat, as it was in perfect keeping with Anne's predilections and temperament. In dismissing Harley, her ideas of the prerogative had received a shock, and her humiliation after taking Somers and Sunderland into her councils was most touching, even to Godolphin. With these three things rankling in her bosom, and the late unpleasantness with Lady Marlborough fresh in mind, she proved a willing listener to Harley's designs. Although all their schemes may not have been laid before her, Abigail and Harley were certainly planning the overthrow of Godolphin, that Harley might become both lord treasurer and ministerial leader.

With this objective clearly before them, they proceeded with their projects, in the accomplishment of which both the duchess and her husband unwittingly aided them. The former harassed Anne and the woman she was protecting, until forbearance ceased to be a virtue, even in a queen, and Anne felt called upon to protest until Marlborough was convinced that any further communications of his wife with the queen would be worse than useless, serving only to increase Anne's resentment. While thus convinced, the duke had the extreme mortification to observe the queen's cool behavior to his wife while she was at court, and the tendency of selfish courtiers thus early to curry favor with Mrs. Masham.<sup>2</sup>

Of Anne's personal feelings there could no longer be the slightest doubt. One of the menials in the queen's bedchamber was very ill and Anne wished that a protégée

<sup>1</sup> *Lockhart Papers*, I. 310. So keen an observer as Lockhart did not perceive the part played by Sarah's neglect of the queen. See *Mémoires de Torcy*, III. 20-2; and W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Robert Walpole*, V. 50, sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 169-70, 212; Coxe, II. 383, 391-2.

of Mrs. Masham succeed her. Since this place was usually filled by the groom of the stole, Lady Marlborough naturally demurred at the appointment of her cousin's candidate. To this the queen spiritedly replied: "I know this place is reckoned under your office; but there is no office whatsoever that has the entire disposal of anything under them, but I may put in any one I please when I have a mind to it. And now you mention the Duke of Somerset again, I cannot help upon this occasion saying, whenever he recommends anybody to me, he never says it is his right, but submits to my determination, *and has done so upon occasions in which you have recommended people to me in posts under him.* But I do not say this that you should think I hearken to everybody's recommendation; for indeed I do not, and will not, and *for the person you are so mightily afraid should put any one into Rainsford's place, I dare answer she will not go about recommending anybody.* And if this poor creature should die, which, as I said before, I hope she will not, I shall then hearken to nobody's recommendation but my own, which I am sure you ought not to think any wrong or injustice to you."<sup>1</sup>

The situation was unfortunate for Marlborough, who had to lead the armies of England and her allies against the French. With his wife and Godolphin losing the queen's favor, he had no assurance that his plans, both diplomatic and military, might not be overthrown by Harley. To protect himself from such a contingency, he asked to be made captain general for life, thereby arousing the fears of the queen, and many of the courtiers. This request caused his already waning popularity to decrease still more, and cost him Anne's confidence when he needed it most.

The presumption of the duke and the arrogance of the

<sup>1</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 256.

duchess placed Harley and Abigail in an advantageous position. Without fear of successful opposition, they now urged Anne to dismiss Godolphin and appoint Harley in his place. Yet they had to work with circumspection, since the duchess was still at court, and her agents remained in the queen's employ. To inform the ministry of their plans could only result fatally, since Anne was exceedingly reluctant to acquiesce in Harley's policies until she was certain of their success,<sup>1</sup> and was not convinced by simple assurances that the voters were sufficiently hostile to Godolphin's ministry to return to parliament a majority favorable to the Tories. However, Harley was nothing if not patient, being content to win Anne by degrees to the necessity of delivering herself from the control of the Whiggish ministry. Frequent letters and occasional interviews were now the order of the day. These were constantly made easier by Abigail's efficient work. For a short time, Marlborough imagined that Harley had formed an alliance with the Whigs, which would slowly but surely bring Godolphin's administration to an end, because he was convinced that once his loss of the queen's favor became known, "the greatest part of 89 [Whigs] will join 208 and 256 [Harley and Mrs. Masham] who for some time will carry on the business."<sup>2</sup>

Neither Godolphin nor the Marlboroughs could be idle when they knew the man whom they had driven from office was busily plotting against them. Knowing that the queen would never listen to their advice, they attacked Harley indirectly, by attempting to put obstacles in the way of his daughter's marriage to Lord Dupplin, of which

<sup>1</sup> "As for your writing a letter for me to show my freind [Queen], you had better not doe it for fear she will be examined about it, soe I dare answer she would much rather know nothing of the matter." Mrs. Masham to Harley, Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 97<sup>d</sup>-9<sup>d</sup>. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 525.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the duchess, Coxe Papers, XXIX. 190-1.



action Harley complained most bitterly to Newcastle, who was destined a few years later to forward a marriage of his own daughter with Harley's son. Even then, Harley discerned the silver lining in the cloud—the danger to Godolphin of his hesitating policy with the junto, and the manifest independence of Somerset, whose duchess was beginning to share Anne's confidence. Mrs. Masham's social position was not sufficiently elevated to allow her to assume many of the ceremonial duties heretofore performed by Lady Marlborough, and as the queen and her old favorite drifted apart, these functions were performed to an increasing degree by the Duchess of Somerset, ranking lady of the bedchamber.<sup>1</sup>

The breach between Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman was almost complete. The latter attempted to obtain a personal interview with Anne, but in vain. She then wrote out a list of her grievances and a still longer catalogue of the services she had performed for the queen, and accompanied them with a species of sermon, emphasizing the idea of forgiveness by arguments drawn from the Scriptures. Even this clever appeal to Anne's religiosity failed, for the latter suspected a ruse and lazily put off the perusal of the essay on Christian duty, and neglected to answer the letter.<sup>2</sup> The duchess would not be cast aside in this way. Tactless by nature, she never displayed less judgment than when she attempted to force Anne to a decision. With all the dignity of a duchess, she demanded that Godolphin and Marlborough should aid her in regaining her place at court.<sup>3</sup> To the duke's letter about his wife's predicament, Anne at once replied, vindicating Abigail from the charges which Lady Marlborough had made, citing his wife's inveteracy against

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 208; *Angliæ Notitia* (1708), p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 225-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Coxe Papers*, XV. 123-6.

her cousin, and particularly emphasizing the cool treatment of the duchess toward herself. "I do not love complaining, but it is impossible to help saying on this occasion, I believe nobody was ever so used by a friend as I have been by her since my coming to the Crown. I desire nothing but that she would leave off teasing and tormenting me and behave herself with that decency she ought, both to her friend and Queen and this I hope you will make her do, and is what no reasonable body can wonder I should desire of you . . . I shall end this letter, as you did yours to me, wishing both your eyes and the Duchess of Marlborough's may be opened and that you may ever be happy."<sup>1</sup> In a like manner, she replied to his wife, who had asked what fault was found with her. Anne accused her of persecuting Mrs. Masham. She found no fault with Sarah's insisting upon her own opinions, but she declared that it was impossible for the duchess ever to recover her confidence. "I shall behave myself to you," she wrote, "as to the Duke of Marlborough's wife and as my groom of the stole."<sup>2</sup>

The struggle was over, if the duchess had possessed eyes to see it, but she insisted still upon an interview. Eventually, after several rebuffs that must have been extremely hard to endure, Lady Marlborough said that she wished only to present her case, and would not ask Anne to make any decision. On these conditions, the momentous interview took place early in April, 1710. After pouring out the vials of her bountiful wrath upon Abigail and Harley, the duchess waited for an answer. The queen only repeated again and again, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none." The meeting was both strenuous and prolonged. Plenteous tears were shed by both women, but Sarah never received any better

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 49<sup>d</sup>. See *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 224. See also *ib.*, p. 239; Coxe, II. 488.

answer, and left, thoroughly beaten by the woman whom she had expected to conquer.<sup>1</sup> The duchess meddled but little in political affairs again. At court her influence was entirely gone, although for months she held her official positions. The duke, however, was still the commander in chief of the armies and one of the duchess's closest friends was Godolphin, the titular head of the ministry. It is strange, if the political influence of these two leaders was as great as is currently accepted, that they did not prevent Anne's dismissal of her former favorite.

For months, Godolphin had been much depressed in trying to keep the greedy Whigs at bay. His troubles increased as Harley slowly gained over Anne an influence which caused her to exhibit more than the usual amount of opposition whenever the lord treasurer wished her consent to some Whig appointment.<sup>2</sup> As the offices at his disposal became fewer, the cries of disappointed place seekers became more eloquent. Little wonder, then, that in his exasperation he should have told Marlborough that the life of a galley slave was preferable to his. He ardently desired to leave office, but foreign relations were in much too critical a condition to permit it.<sup>3</sup>

His fate was now closely linked with that of the junto. As long as the five Whigs stood together, Godolphin could make no headway against them, but by the middle of 1709, it looked as if this hard-working combination might be dissolved. Halifax was piqued because he was not sent as an envoy to negotiate the Barrier Treaty, and, much to the duke's dismay,<sup>4</sup> showed signs of allying him-

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 241-4; Coxe, III. 55; *Priv. Cor.*, I. 301-4; Lecky, II. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, ff. 134-5.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe Papers, XXVII. 41-5; Coxe, II. 386.

<sup>4</sup> When Godolphin told him the place was promised to Townshend, the remarks of Halifax were decidedly sulphurous. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 176; Mahon,

self with Harley. Wharton, possibly the most active and successful politician of the group, had become lord lieutenant of Ireland, and spent far more time in making money than he did in politics. Two of his fellows, Sunderland and Somers, objected so emphatically to this that he was impelled to complain of their treatment.<sup>1</sup> The lord treasurer displayed even more disquietude lest Sunderland should precipitate a struggle between Anne and the ministry unless Halifax was given either a place in the council or an important diplomatic post.<sup>2</sup> Although he prevented any serious difficulty over this question, he and the junto had to meet the queen's displeasure squarely when they wished a post in the ministry for Orford, another of the junto, who had not yet been rewarded.

Edward Russell, Lord Orford, had been a leading admiral in William's reign; but his actions were, to say the least, always suspicious, since, like Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Marlborough, he wished to be safe, whatever dynasty might rule England. Godolphin urged Anne to appoint him lord high admiral. Recalling his doubtful record, she hesitated to reward such a man, although her refusal lay fully as much in the fact that he was a Whig, and, worst of all, one of the junto, against which she had struggled for five years. To Orford's pretensions, the duke was at first unfavorable, as he had been in the case of Halifax; but eventually he was won over,

p. 375. Halifax's demeanor towards the duchess seems to have been discourteous. Coxe, II. 381.

<sup>1</sup> Wharton MSS. (Bodl.), IV. 32; Hearne, II. 155; Coxe Papers, XXVIII. 155, XXIX. 123. Indeed, he felt his position insecure. *Ib.*, XXVIII. 12. The junto was disturbed by Queensberry's boast that he would force his way into the junto. *Portl. MSS.*, IV. 516.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, II. 384. The duke feared this move might force Anne into closer relations with Harley and he felt that his only hope lay in the reasonableness of Somers, Devonshire, Newcastle, and Townshend.

because the Whigs once more threatened to oppose Godolphin unless their demands were granted. In this scheme, Sunderland was perhaps the leading spirit, for he advocated putting this *coup* into effect just before parliament met, if the lord treasurer did not prove complaisant.<sup>1</sup> Marlborough's position was distinctly embarrassing, when he was appealed to at the same time both by Godolphin and by Anne to support their plans, which were diametrically opposed to each other, but he advised the queen to place Orford at the head of the admiralty board, which advice for once she followed with reasonable promptness, although she compensated the displaced Pembroke with a grant of £3,000 a year.<sup>2</sup>

Marlborough's power with the queen was soon tested again. In reorganizing the Admiralty, the junto insisted that Sir John Jennings and Sir George Byng should be members of the board. To both, Anne bitterly objected, as she suspected they had been implicated in the recent attacks upon Prince George. For a season, it looked as if the Whig plan would be wrecked through her obstinacy. After much discussion, many interviews, and a letter from the duke, the queen agreed to a compromise and contented herself with substituting another name for that of Jennings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "By this move we shall preserve our reputation and our party; and without it, we shall have neither." *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34518, f. 48; Coxe, II. 483; Mahon, p. 402.

<sup>3</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 278. "I am in a good deal of uneasiness to find in three conversations I have had with Lord Treasurer," Anne wrote to Marlborough, "he has not mentioned the business of the admiralty to me, fearing by that he intends to offer people he thinks will be disagreeable to me; and therefore, out of good nature, defers it as long as 'tis possible. Whoever he proposes for this commission, it is a thing of that great consequence to the public, and particularly to myself, that I must consider it very well before I can come to any resolution." Coxe, II. 484. Anne disliked Byng also. Coxe Papers, XXIV. 162.

Marlborough arrived home next day to find his wife and Godolphin out of touch with Queen Anne. It is true that he came as a victor, but the hard won battle of Malplaquet added little to his laurels, because the people of England, particularly the gentry, demanded an end of the war, and were most hopeful during the progress of peace negotiations, in the summer of 1709, that the ministry would respect their wishes. When the diplomatic interchanges failed, they blamed Marlborough for prolonging the war for his own purposes, an accusation to which he added weight by demanding the rank of captain general for life. After winning Malplaquet, he was accused of slaughtering his men needlessly, to increase his own reputation, rather than to hasten the conclusion of the war.<sup>1</sup>

As many contemporaries believed these charges, it is necessary to examine them in order to determine their truth. Both the Marlboroughs were mean and penurious, both possessed the gift of making money, and together they amassed a great fortune; both were deservedly unpopular, and almost without exception, the courtiers envied them their good fortune, which was largely a result of their merits. All sorts of stories were told of Marlborough's stinginess, and he was the butt of witty remarks from the tongues and pens of such men as Peter-

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XXVIII. 67; Swift, *Change of Ministry*. "Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition but his avarice." Goldsmith, *Hist.*, IV. 149. In 1712, appeared Arhuthnot's famous pamphlet, *Law is a Bottomless Pit*, in which the main themes are Holland's selfishness and Marlborough's disloyalty. Mrs. Masham kept Anne in touch with these rumors. At first sight the most damning evidence is found in Carte's "Memoranda": "When peace was expected in 1706, Lord Orkney was going to sell his equipage, but the Duke . . . asking him one morning if it was true, and Orkney owning it, Marlborough said, no, Orkney, what must so many brave fellows do to live then? There must be no peace. This Orkney told Lewis." Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CCLXVI. 37<sup>b</sup>. This is hearsay evidence of the most dangerous kind and is not to be trusted.

borough and Swift. The haughtiness and probity of the duchess failed to make her popular at a time when her strict code of personal morality stamped her as prudish. Her parsimony made her the target for such remarks as, "the Duke may have been liberal occasionally, but the Duchess never."

So much for generalities; what are the facts? When Marlborough found that the desire for peace was so strong and the growing weakness of the ministry threatened it with a defeat at the next election, he suggested that he be made captain general and master of the ordnance for life. The queen took no apparent notice of his suggestion, as she needed time to consider so important a matter. She at once laid the case before her chancellor, Lord Cowper, without any explanation, except what might be implied in the question, "In what words would you draw a commission . . . to render the Duke . . . captain-general of my armies for life?"<sup>1</sup> Cowper, thinking she wished to honor Marlborough with this unprecedented favor, argued strongly against it. Anne was much pleased with his stand, and asked him to speak to Marlborough. The chancellor forthwith informed the duke that there was no historic warrant for such a request.<sup>2</sup> Still dissatisfied, the duke asked James Craggs to look up the grant to Monck prior to the Restoration, and the report was that Monck's commission was only during pleasure, and granting the duke's request would establish a precedent.<sup>3</sup> Refusing to be denied, Marlborough greatly alarmed the queen by applying directly to her. After taking counsel with her friends, she "positively declined compliance." Furious at her refusal, Marl-

<sup>1</sup> Swift, *Change of Ministry*; Alison, *Military Hist. of Marl.*, pp. 288-92.

<sup>2</sup> Cowper to Marlborough, June 23, Coxe Papers, XXVIII.; Strickland, XII. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Craggs, May 20, 1709, Coxe Papers, XXIX.; Ryan, pp. 565-9.

borough wrote Anne a most complaining letter, which was in part, at least, responsible for the cloud under which he rested thereafter.

The duke incurred not only the queen's resentment but that of the Tories as well. Having never forgiven him for deserting them, they began to make capital of his attempt to become military dictator. They were now ready to join their forces with Harley to overthrow the man who had four times humiliated the proud armies of France. Even the members of the junta were disconcerted by this extraordinary request, which displayed on Marlborough's part either a lack of confidence in their sincerity or a doubt as to their ability to retain political control.<sup>1</sup> To the duke's personal enemies, this ill-advised move also afforded an unparalleled opportunity to lessen his power in the government. Under such unfavorable conditions, Marlborough began the peace negotiations with France. If his actions in these conferences prolonged the war, he must have had personal reasons for so doing, because he was thoroughly aware that England wished peace. As a matter of fact, the correspondence of Marlborough and Torcy,<sup>2</sup> the French minister, Berwick's *Memoirs* and Cowper's *Diary* all show that the duke made a serious effort to bring about peace, but that his instructions from England and the heavy demands of the allies made such an outcome impossible. Marlborough wished peace for its own sake, and the enormous bribes offered by Louis XIV would certainly have inclined him in that direction, if he had been as self-seeking as his antagonists alleged.

<sup>1</sup> Marlborough knew that this demand would increase his unpopularity. The fact that he still persisted, showed how much he felt himself at the queen's mercy, as is evident from an examination of the Coxe Papers, XXIX. *passim*, particularly, a letter of July 20, 1709, on folio 39.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton MSS. (B. M.), 892-4; G. Murray, *Letters and Dispatches of Marlborough*; Coxe's *Marlborough*; Torcy, *Memoirs*, II. 355-7, 363.



Various as have been the reasons assigned for the failure of the peace preliminaries, no attention has been paid to Marlborough's complaint that Harley made it practically impossible for him to proceed satisfactorily with the negotiations, as with every augmentation of Harley's power, the French representatives became more indifferent to peace proposals. In June, Lord Raby congratulated the duke on the conclusion of peace, the treaty of which he understood was as good as signed. Coming across this letter years later, the duchess noted on the envelope, "The peace which my Lord Raby calls so glorious, and which was so near made, would certainly have been finished had not . . . [Harley] and those that assisted him in doing so much mischief, thought it too good; and for that reason they encouraged France to hold out, which appeared by a thousand things to those who knew the secrets of those times."<sup>1</sup>

In July, Godolphin informed Marlborough that Harley was in close touch with the Tories, who would make it clear in parliament that the duke alone prevented peace, and would show how badly England needed rest on account of the great expense of the war. Ten days later, the lord treasurer wrote again in the same tone. A month afterward he reported that Harley and Buys, the Dutch envoy in London, were both greatly pleased because Marlborough was so taken up with the siege of Mons that he had no time for diplomacy. "If peace does not come before Parliament," said Godolphin, "the entire communication and correspondence between Harley and 61 [Buys] will certainly force us to a worse."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coxe Papers, XXVIII. 67. Sarah continued: "At the same time that they prevented the peace, they imposed upon many in making them believe the Duke . . . had a design to continue the war forever for his own advantage, who had really more interest in making an end, and was fonder of doing it than anybody for ten thousand reasons."

<sup>2</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 351; Coxe Papers, XXIX. 99, 171; *Priv. Cor.*, II. 344-9.

The duke was really despondent about the whole matter, and censured Harley most severely for his interference in vital foreign affairs.<sup>1</sup>

Although other contemporaries are silent as to Harley's intrigues, there can be no doubt of his industry. He was in confidential communication with Shrewsbury, who kept him informed regarding the growth of peace sentiment in the country at large.<sup>2</sup> Lord Rivers and the Earl of Mar withdrew their support from the ministry.<sup>3</sup> Harley and the queen, with the aid of such men as these, might well become a veritable stumbling-block to the ministry in its peace negotiations, particularly when Marlborough was absent from court, and Godolphin no longer in Anne's good graces. The duke realized that even his presence would help affairs very little, for his unpopularity with the queen was almost as great as that of his imperious duchess.

Indeed, the duke was in an extremely bad way when he lost Anne's confidence, because of his own unpopularity. At the close of the campaign of 1708 he was indirectly censured by the Commons because in his report of the battle of Wynendale he failed to give proper credit to General Webb.<sup>4</sup> It is surprising that such censure should occur after he had triumphed at Oudenarde, but it should cause no comment, since similar criticisms had followed the very bloody battle of Malplaquet.<sup>5</sup> Of course

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, II. 476.

<sup>2</sup> *Bath MSS.*, I. 197; Coxe Papers, XXIII. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, II. 362-5; Coxe, II. 489; A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Marlborough had done all he could to remedy this oversight, and Webb seemed satisfied until his officious friends got hold of him. Coxe, II. 376; *C. J.*, XVI. 46; Mahon, pp. 373-4.

<sup>5</sup> Two battles have been more deadly in proportion to the number engaged: Talavera and Waterloo. Alison, *supra cit.*, II. 284; Coxe Papers, XVIII. 67.

the Whigs rejoiced at his success, but Anne's secret advisers called her attention to the great sacrifice of life, and she failed to thank Marlborough for his victory.<sup>1</sup> The current Tory view of the battle is best given by Hearne. "There happened . . . a bloody battle between the Allies and the French near Mons. It lasted for about nine hours, with very great obstinacy. At last the French, after they had slain about 19,000, with the loss of only 7,000 men on their own side, thought fit to retire, which they did in very good order."<sup>2</sup> Instead of finishing the war, as Marlborough had hoped, this battle only served<sup>3</sup> to stiffen the determination of the French, who had discovered how great a price they might exact from the duke in battle, and were even less inclined to accept the onerous peace terms demanded by the allies.

The reception which the conquering hero received upon his arrival home was anything but what he expected. He had still to explain to Webb's numerous friends why he had treated their favorite so shabbily. He was forced also to listen to the murmurs of the masses at the needless sacrifices in winning Malplaquet. All this came at the very moment that he had lost the queen's confidence through his wife's behavior and his own ill-timed attempt to secure a life tenure as commander in chief.

The growth of Harley's power was largely responsible for the queen's increasing dislike of the policies of her

<sup>1</sup> Macknight, *Bolingbroke*, p. 140. Cf. Smollett, *Hist. of Eng.*, I. 155-8.

<sup>2</sup> Hearne, II. 264. Hearne also describes the part the Chevalier played in this battle. "This act cannot but deserve the highest commendation, though it is slighted and undervalued by his disloyal and rebellious English subjects, who are for magnifying nothing but what makes for the interest of . . . Marlborough, whom some call King John the Second, which Duks though he be a soldier, yet all his achievements will never satisfy for his shameful desertion of . . . James II." *Ib.*, 265.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe Papers, XXX. 18. It did improve the credit of the allies, and Godolphin was able to circulate about £500,000 more exchequer bills. *Ib.*, 46.

leading ministers. Not satisfied with the duke's discontent and his chagrin at finding that military success only added to the general lack of confidence, Harley and the queen pursued their advantages still further. They decided to strike at his military power, though there was no particular need to hurry, as every week weakened Marlborough's hold upon affairs. He had already lost Shrewsbury's support,<sup>1</sup> though he was not yet aware of the fact, and he knew that Mar had gone over to Harley, carrying with him a number of the Scottish members, a move for which the duke held Rivers mainly responsible.<sup>2</sup>

Such being the situation, Anne decided to strike at the very root of Marlborough's power. In January, 1710, the Earl of Essex died, leaving vacant the office of constable of the Tower, a position very much in demand. At Harley's suggestion, Lord Rivers at once went to see Marlborough about it. Fully aware of Harley's scheme, the duke put Rivers off from time to time with the excuse that the place was not of sufficient importance for a man of his merit. At last, however, he consented that Rivers should take the case to the queen and say that he had no objection to the appointment. In the meantime, he had been promoting the candidacy of the Duke of Northumberland, and was greatly surprised when Anne informed him she was sorry that he had come too late, as the honor had been bestowed upon Rivers, because "he told me that your Grace had stated you had no objections to him."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34521, f. 41; *Bath MSS.*, I. 197. As early as December, 1708, Marlborough knew that Shrewsbury was not entirely in sympathy with the ministers, as he could not be given a place. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 174; Coxe Papers, XXIII. 48, XXIX. 55, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe Papers, XXIX. 55; *Conduct*, p. 227; *Priv. Cor.*, II. 283.

<sup>3</sup> Swift, *Change of Ministry*. Cf. Burton, III. 62; Remusat, I. 179. Peter Wentworth was told that Marlborough was promoting the interests of Cadogan. *Wentworth Papers*, p. 102. See also *Conduct*, p. 124; Coxe, III. 6.

The queen and her supporters had outwitted Marlborough, but he could do nothing, inasmuch as both Anne and Rivers had literally taken him at his word.

The blow was a hard one, but was as nothing compared to the queen's next move. The death of Essex left the celebrated Second Dragoons without a colonel. Before Marlborough had time to recover from his disappointment over Rivers's appointment, Anne commanded him to bestow the vacant regiment upon John Hill, Abigail's brother. He was too astonished for speech. That Anne should presume to dictate important military appointments was bad enough, but when she nominated the brother of the very woman against whom he had been complaining for months, it was unbearable!<sup>1</sup> To the Marlboroughs, to Godolphin, to the courtiers, yes, even to the queen, it was clearly a battle between Harley and Marlborough, as well as between the queen and her ministers.<sup>2</sup> The Marlboroughs and Godolphin were thoroughly aroused as they realized it was to be a fight to the finish.

If any one appreciated the meaning of the last four words better than the queen, it was Harley. His hand was in it all. Rivers had acted as his trusted agent and had helped to humiliate Marlborough. Somerset, provoked because Marlborough had not appointed his son to a vacant regiment,<sup>3</sup> and flattered by Anne's frequent attentions, was being drawn, through Harley's subtle

<sup>1</sup> Tindal, IV. 185; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 316-7; *Conduct*, pp. 227-8. Lady Marlborough was also greatly wrought up, as she intended to bestow the regiment upon one of her favorites. Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXV. 98.

<sup>2</sup> "The dispute was not between the Queen and My Lord Duke, as some will have it, but whether Mrs. Masham and her party should have a disposal of all vacancies in the armies and by degrees, of everything else." Morrison (2d Series), II. 81.

<sup>3</sup> In reality Anne had refused to appoint him. Coxe Papers, XXX. 97. See also A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 163; *Wentworth Papers*, p. 98.

skill, into the ranks of his supporters.<sup>1</sup> Somerset's political value, on account of his high social position, as ranking Protestant nobleman, had never been thoroughly appreciated by Marlborough, who despised him because of his mediocrity.<sup>2</sup> Harley discerned the possibilities of using this proud nobleman and his followers against the ministry.

When Marlborough was ordered to appoint Hill he became really desperate. The war was still in progress and important diplomatic negotiations were about to begin. His work was unfinished, and he did not wish to resign. Harley had been busy circulating rumors that the junto had promised to appoint him captain general for life,<sup>3</sup> thus making conditions still more difficult. If he threatened to resign, it was more than probable that Anne would accept his resignation; whereas, if he did not resign, his military power and diplomatic prestige would be greatly weakened by the queen's monopoly of all important appointments.

In dismay, the duke consulted Sunderland, who assured him of the support of the junto against Harley. Encouraged by this promise, Marlborough laid his case before the queen. She listened to his complaints with extreme indifference, and the only satisfaction he received was the cryptic advice that "you will do well to advise with your friends."<sup>4</sup> He followed her suggestion, but it was hard to reach a decision with the junto. At last, Somers agreed to go with him to wait on the queen, but when the time came, he excused himself on the plea of illness. Dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 208; *Coxe Papers*, XXVIII. 152; *Ryan*, pp. 547-9; *Wyon*, I. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Coxe*, II. 279, 356, 384; *Coxe Papers*, XLI. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Wentworth Papers*, pp. 104-5. See, however, *Wyon*, II. 165; *Tindal*, IV. 185.

<sup>4</sup> *Coxe*, III. 8. "Marlborough could not draw one kind expression from her." *Conduct*, pp. 230-2.

concerted by this move, the duke, with his wife, set out for Windsor without taking formal leave of the queen, hoping to alarm her by his withdrawal from the cabinet council. Apparently she was not in the least perturbed, for she did not even remark about his absence,<sup>1</sup> although he had kept his departure an absolute secret.

Two years before, Marlborough had retired from court on Anne's refusal to remove Harley from the ministry. At the first cabinet meeting thereafter Somerset had prevented Harley's attempt to carry on the routine business. Such was not the case now, as Harley and the queen had won over Somerset and no one else present would risk Anne's displeasure by even referring to the duke's absence. Fully expecting a repetition of the council meeting of February, 1708, Marlborough upon his departure, left with Godolphin a vigorous letter to Anne, emphasizing his great services to the crown and the numerous instances which both he and his wife had received of Abigail's hatred, and closed by saying, "I hope your Majesty will either dismiss her or myself."<sup>2</sup> Although the tone was entirely to the liking of Sunderland and some of the radical Whigs, Godolphin and the junto considered it too extreme and advised the duke to moderate it. On January 16, two important meetings of the political leaders were held, but neither Godolphin nor Somers attended, and sickness kept Sunderland from one of them. The decision at these conferences was to support the duke in his refusal to appoint Hill. The lord treasurer at once took up the matter with Anne, but he was too fearful of her anger to accomplish anything.<sup>3</sup> Somers, who stood higher in the queen's favor than any of the ministry save Cowper, waited upon her with

<sup>1</sup> *Conduct*, p. 230; Burton, III. 62; Coxe, III. 8, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, III. 8; *Conduct*, pp. 230-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 295-6; *Conduct*, p. 230; Coxe, III. 9.

similar results, although she told him she recognized Marlborough's great worth and was properly grateful. "This I will confirm when I see him," she said, "and then I doubt not I shall have the satisfaction of hearing him own, that after mature reflection, he has changed his opinion, and will not continue to think my proposal unreasonable.<sup>1</sup>

Such determined opposition divided the ministry. Somers and Godolphin counseled moderation, but Sunderland urged extreme measures, even to the extent of attacking Mrs. Masham in the House of Commons, and threatening to bring over the electoral prince.<sup>2</sup> An agreement was impossible without consulting Marlborough, so James Craggs was sent to see him and found him ready to advocate a vigorous policy. Scarcely had Craggs left Windsor before letters from the lord president and the lord treasurer arrived, begging the duke to meet Anne half way, a plan which had found favor with the majority of the members of the junto.<sup>3</sup> Somers again called on the queen, this time with better success. Her protestations convinced him that she still relied upon the duke, whom he advised to return to court at once, in which opinion Somers was supported by the ministry and the Whig leaders.<sup>4</sup>

The Marlboroughs reluctantly obeyed Somers's mandate, as he urged a policy slightly less radical than that of Sunderland. The duke demanded that the junto, Godolphin, Cowper, and Newcastle should meet and advise him, as he knew that they must act together in order to prevail. Once more he was right; the queen seemed as intractable as ever, and apparently forgot her

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 39; Coxe, III. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe, III. 11-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 39; Coxe, III. 13.



promise to inform Godolphin of her final decision relative to Hill's appointment.

In the meantime, Sunderland, Craggs, Walpole, and Arthur Maynwaring had conferred together and advised the duke to make no more overtures to Anne, a suggestion which was at variance with the plans of Somers and the lord treasurer. When these two groups got together, a noisy session ensued, in which, after much wrangling, Godolphin had his way. He immediately renewed his solicitations to the queen<sup>1</sup> and succeeded for a season in calming the duke's troubled spirit.

During his period of retirement, Marlborough's deep respect for the queen had returned, and he gradually abandoned his uncompromising position. In this humble spirit, he addressed her. He no longer was anxious to resign, but dwelt at length on Abigail's malicious influence,<sup>2</sup> insisting that he did not object to Hill's appointment in itself, but rather to the agencies promoting it.

Godolphin and the Whigs continued to demand that the duke be allowed complete independence in military appointments, but their efforts fell on deaf ears, and only served to excite Anne's fears and increase her resentment. She gave no heed to the ministers, though they pointed out the danger of dismissing the duke in the midst of the war, because of a trifling appointment. When she learned, however, that Sunderland would introduce a motion in parliament against Mrs. Masham, she grew alarmed and, seemingly intent upon arousing public resentment against the ministry, made formal application to several influential Tories and even to a few Jacobites.<sup>3</sup> She also

<sup>1</sup> *Priv. Cor.*, I. 295-6; Coxe, III. 14-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, p. 232; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 894-7. Apparently he also wished several other ladies removed from the court. *Wentworth Papers*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Wentworth Papers*, pp. 102-3; Tindal, IV. 186; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 316-7.

wrote Marlborough at once, assuring him of her good will and asking him to appear at court. Godolphin, Somers, and Cowper, fearful of the result of her advances toward the Tories, advised the duke to comply at once. The Whig leaders held another conference and recommended conciliatory methods, while Anne, solicitous for Mrs. Masham, informed Godolphin that she would no longer insist upon Hill's appointment, and asked him to inform the duke to this effect, although she firmly refused to write to him herself.<sup>1</sup>

By this time, Marlborough had received her conciliatory letter and hurried to Westminster determined to follow up his advantage and bring about Mrs. Masham's dismissal. To his surprise, he found that he could count only on Sunderland, Cadogan, Meredith, and a few others to help him. The moderate Whigs and Godolphin advised him to accept Anne's terms rather than drive her into the arms of the Tories.<sup>2</sup> The duke, against his better judgment, accepted the queen's advances, a concession which was for him more than half a defeat. When he returned to court, Anne received him most graciously, and he was too much the perfect gentleman to display any signs of resentment, when nothing was to be gained by such uncourtly demeanor.<sup>3</sup>

In this unsatisfactory way, the struggle over Hill ended, or rather seemed to end, for the settlement really marks the beginning of Anne's final attempt to free herself from the chains with which the Whigs were trying to bind her.<sup>4</sup> Marlborough had saved himself from

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, III. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Wentworth Papers*, pp. 104-5; Coxe, III. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 234-5; Coxe Papers, XXXI. 23; Oldmixon, III. 436-7; Coxe, III. 19.

<sup>4</sup> [Green], *Memoirs of St. John*, pp. 181-2. Before the election was over, Anne promised the Duke of Beaufort "that there shall be a thorough remove and Mr. Harley says the same. It is believed that Lord Sunderland

humiliation in military affairs. Anne did not forget Abigail's brother "Jack," however, for she soon granted him a pension of £1,000, and a little later Marlborough was compelled at her express command to make him a brigadier general.<sup>1</sup>

The advantage in the struggle thus lay clearly with the queen. She had saved Mrs. Masham from the wrath of the Marlboroughs, partly because the junto would not aid them in wreaking vengeance upon Abigail. Towards the time-serving Whig leaders, Marlborough's attitude became cooler and more distrustful, because he could not depend upon them. The division of opinion over Abigail and her brother also helped create a schism within the Whig group. Abigail's former dislike of the duchess<sup>2</sup> now turned into burning hatred, making her a more efficient ally of Harley than ever. The relations of Anne and the duke were once more apparently cordial, although Lady Marlborough and Anne were still unreconciled. Godolphin had been unable to retain the queen's confidence in the face of Harley's growing influence, and the junto, especially Sunderland, in threatening to force her to dismiss her favorite, lost all hope of gaining her confidence.

Before these heats and resentments had subsided, a more important matter than the colonelcy of a regiment filled the minds of all at court. In November, 1709, Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon at St. Paul's, upholding the High Church doctrine of passive obedience

and some others will lose their heads." *W. T. Legh MSS.* (H. M. C.), III. 270.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, *Memoirs of Walpole*, II. 11-4; *Py. Hist.*, VI. 894-7.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe, III. 21. Cf. Salomon, p. 22; Cooke, *Bolingbroke*, I. 104. A proof of Sarah's loss of influence lies in the fact that she rarely came to court after this. Carte MSS. (Bodl.), CXXV. 98. Carte records that he was told the duchess "was sensible she had lost all her interest with the queen, being supplanted by her cousin German." *Ib.*, CCXXXI. f. 46<sup>a</sup>.

and sarcastically referring to the lord treasurer and other Whig ministers as Volpones.<sup>1</sup> The whole tone of his discourse was hostile to the ministers, who felt that the hairbrained young divine must be summarily punished for his presumption. Godolphin, in particular, cried for vengeance, and contrary to the judgment of Somers and Marlborough, the ministry decided to impeach Sacheverell.<sup>2</sup> The angry ministers failed to see that an attack upon Sacheverell was equivalent to an assault upon the High Church, and the Tories made capital out of their obtuseness. "The Whigs took it into their minds to roast a parson," said Burnet, "and they did roast him, but their zeal tempted them to make the fire so high that they scorched themselves."<sup>3</sup> While the Whigs made ready to try the outspoken preacher, their opponents were arousing public sentiment in favor of the church. The Tory leaders awoke the drowsy clergy by suggesting that Sacheverell's punishment meant not only losing the inestimable right of free speech, but also depriving the church of its privileges and political power. We have no reason to believe that the Whigs aimed to do anything more than to silence the noisy, almost treasonable attacks upon the government, and they conducted the trial with unusual moderation, tact, and circumspection,<sup>4</sup> yet Harley's skill changed his opponents into dangerous enemies of religion and free speech.<sup>5</sup> No other trial since that of the seven bishops had excited so much feeling and

<sup>1</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, II. 210; Luttrell, VI. 508; Hearne, II. 304. Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges*, p. 4. Volpone was the hero of Jonson's drama called *The Fox*, a satire on avarice.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Somers*, p. 114; Swift, *Change of Ministry*; Burnet, V. 434-6; Thomson, II. 168. Wharton was the moving spirit among the Whigs in favor of such proceedings. Burnet, V. 443; Luttrell, VI. 524.

<sup>3</sup> See also Cooke, *Bolingbroke*, I. 103; Remusat, I. 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Kenyon MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 444; Wyon, II. 168.

<sup>5</sup> Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, ff. 135-6. See Cooke, I. 597.

attention, but no attack of this kind, however moderate, could withstand the anger of the Anglicans, who were urged to violent action by the thoroughly aroused clergy.

Traffic about Westminster Hall was almost impossible on account of the throngs in the streets, seeking to greet Sacheverell as he passed to and from his trial. His opponents were openly insulted; leading Dissenters were placed in jeopardy of life and limb, and much of their property, especially their places of worship,<sup>1</sup> was in danger of destruction. The women of the church were much more active than usual, both in their manifestations of hero worship and their part in the agitation at the time.<sup>2</sup> The Whigs were clearly frightened by the storm they had so unwittingly raised, but they had no option but to continue the trial. As it proceeded, the hostility towards the Whigs increased. Anne attended the trial regularly and her coach was followed by an eager mob, beseeching her to save Sacheverell. So great was the feeling that it required all the pressure which the ministry and the junto could exert to keep the peers sufficiently in line to convict Sacheverell.<sup>3</sup> Even then they made his sentence purely nominal, thus saving their reputation for consistency, but displaying their weakness to

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 33272, ff. 26-7; *Lockhart Papers*, I. 311; *Impartial View*, pp. 190-3; *Coxe Papers*, XXI. 127, sq.; *P. C. Reg.*, LXXXII. 544-7; *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, XII. 5-41.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Stella*, February and March, 1710; *Annals* (1710), p. 265; *Coke MSS.*, III. 89-92; *Defoe's Review*, VIII. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Even then such prominent peers as Shrewsbury and Somerset failed to vote as the ministry desired. See *Parliamentary History* (VI.), for the official list of voters. Argyle voted against Sacheverell, but favored a light sentence. *Lockhart Papers*, I. 315; A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 165; *Annals* (1710), p. 265. Anne apparently held herself aloof in this contest. "I was with my aunt last night on purpose to speak to her about Dr. Sacheverell," wrote Mrs. Masham to Harley, "and asked her if she did not let people know her mind on the matter. She said, no, she did not meddle one way or the other, and it was her friend's [Harley] advice not to meddle." Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34515, ff. 99-102.

the Tories, who maintained that the trial was a victory for the church. Sacheverell was fêted and lionized more than ever; bonfires were built in London and the provincial towns in jubilation; enthusiasm for the crown and Sacheverell "spread like contagion through all the ranks of the people," and no "martyr suffering in the glorious cause of civil and religious liberty was ever so much the object of public applause and veneration as this wretched and fanatical preacher of nonsense, impiety and sedition."<sup>1</sup>

This outburst of enthusiasm strengthened Anne's determination to rid herself of her obnoxious ministers, by showing her the strength of the church and the Tories. To the political cunning and sagacity of Harley, it opened an unparalleled opportunity for disrupting the ministry. To him, Sacheverell was a godsend, since the graceless preacher could be used as a splendid advance agent for the elections. This arrangement suited both the impeached minister and the Tory politicians, for the former received an adulation amounting almost to worship; whereas the latter reaped the fruits of his labors.<sup>2</sup>

The trial and the triumphal processions did much to convince "every peasant and small shopkeeper in the land . . . that a Whig, in politics was a republican, and in religion an atheist, or still more a dissenter."<sup>3</sup> The clergy were greatly alarmed at the danger to their cherished institutions from the Whigs, and from the Dissenters who always supported the Whigs. "Incendiary sermons were preached from the pulpit,"<sup>4</sup> and the priests urged a crusade against the enemies of Christianity and

<sup>1</sup> W. Belsham, *Memoirs of the House of Hanover*, p. 50; Hearne, II. 365; *Annals* (1710), p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* (1710), p. 202; Somerville, *Queen Anne*, pp. 413-4.

<sup>3</sup> Wyon, II. 218.

<sup>4</sup> T. Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges*, p. 8. See also Burnet, V. 412-4.

the church. At their suggestion, Anne was deluged with petitions and addresses from nearly half the towns, expressing the greatest loyalty to Toryism, the church, and her royal highness. It may be questioned, however, whether such petitions really expressed the sentiments of a majority of the people,<sup>1</sup> though they were not without significance, since they aided materially in convincing the queen that she had the country at her back and could safely rid herself of her ministry by dissolving parliament. Furthermore, they greatly increased the number of Anglicans who became active Tory partisans in the election.

At this juncture, Harley showed his skill by persuading Anne that she could gain her ends more surely by working slowly, and gradually dismissing her ministers. Thus she would render powerless the political organization of the hated Whigs, and give the Tories the control of the crown patronage, a factor which would cut a great figure in the election. Already the tide was turning against the ministers. During the trial, Somerset read the writing on the wall, and fearful of offending the queen, absented himself when the peers voted to find Sacheverell guilty. Shrewsbury, his fellow waverer, saw more clearly the ultimate results of the ferment and joined the Tories in voting for an acquittal.<sup>2</sup>

Shrewsbury promptly received his reward. Godolphin, worn out during the trial, had just retired to Newmarket to find solace in the company of his highly prized race horses, when Anne wrote him that she had found it advisable to dismiss Kent and give the chamberlain's staff to Shrewsbury. Her letter is both novel and interesting.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals* (1710), pp. 159-88; Wyon, II. 228. The general tenor of many of these petitions shows that they were "inspired" by the Tories.

<sup>2</sup> *Py. Hist.*, VI. 886; Paul, p. 56; Coxe, III. 24; A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 165.

She first dwelt upon the great dangers to the government from the factions existing at court. "Since you went to Newmarket," she continued, "I have received several assurances from . . . Shrewsbury of his readiness to serve me and his willingness to come into my service." Such overtures pleased Anne's vanity, so she accepted his proffer, "having a very good opinion of him and believing he may be of great use these troublesome times." In breaking this bad news, the queen said, "I hope that this change will meet with your approbation, which I wish I may ever have in all my actions." The only sign of confidence in the entire letter lay in the last sentence, "I have not yet declared my intentions of giving the staff and key, . . . because I would be the first that should acquaint you with it."<sup>1</sup>

Upon the receipt of such disagreeable news, Godolphin hurried back from his pleasures, filled in equal degree with anger and alarm. Angry, because Anne had never given him the slightest inkling of her desires, much less required his approval; alarmed, as he had no means of knowing how much farther she intended to proceed. Before leaving the race course, Godolphin wrote Anne a most tedious, complaining letter,<sup>2</sup> which could have no immediate effect, as she had already delivered the staff to Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> In all this, the ministry clearly understood that Harley and Mrs. Masham were behind the queen, because Shrewsbury had joined his fortunes to those of Harley.<sup>4</sup>

This addition to the ministry greatly strengthened

<sup>1</sup> *Marlb. MSS.*, p. 43. Kent was made "easy in this matter by being made a duke." See also *Priv. Cor.*, II. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Conduct*, pp. 248-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Carte MSS.* (Bodl.), CXXV. 96; *Godolphin Papers*, Add. MSS., 28041, f. 23; *Memoirs of the Life and Conduct of Bolingbroke*, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of the Life and Conduct of Bolingbroke*, p. 185. Godolphin mentioned Harley by name. The duchess complained that Kent, for whom



Harley's plans, even though both Marlborough and Godolphin foolishly imagined that the vacillating lord chamberlain would co-operate with them.<sup>1</sup> Marlborough was not optimistic, for he knew that the ministry had lost such valuable political allies as Somerset, Argyle, Rivers, and Hay. He felt that even with Shrewsbury's aid, the ministry could not endure unless he could defeat the French, and before that could happen, Anne, inspired by her previous efforts, struck again, and this time in a much more vital spot.

In April, 1710, the queen granted a final interview to the duchess; a week later she dismissed Kent; next, her wrath fell upon another minister, Sunderland, who was at once the son-in-law of the Marlboroughs and a member of the junto. Sunderland had been forced upon the queen under the express condition that he should resign if his behavior were not to her liking. He had displeased her, not only by his actions in the Scottish elections, but in his offensive tactics over Somers's and Hill's appointments. Latest of all, he had been the minister to whom had fallen the disagreeable duty of quelling the High Church mob during Sacheverell's trial. All these things had made him *persona non grata*, and in June, she dismissed him. Once more the ministry was powerless to prevail against the queen's determination, and Harley had gained another victory. In this case, as well as in the fight over Hill's promotion, Anne's personal feelings had been injured and her success partook fully as much of revenge as it did of political expediency. Unheeding the protestations of Godolphin and the duke, the representations of

she had done so much, had paid his court to Abigail. Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS., 34518, ff. 53d-54.

<sup>1</sup> Morrison, IV. 148-9. Neither Maynwaring nor Sunderland, however, trusted Shrewsbury. *Priv. Cor.*, I. 301-5. Godolphin's letter to Marlborough is in Coxe Papers, XXXI. 155.

the allies and the threats of the monied interests, Anne refused to recall Sunderland.<sup>1</sup> She was now in position to take notice of Godolphin's surly behavior, and seven weeks after Sunderland's fall, she disgraced the man who had served her so efficiently as the financier of the war.<sup>2</sup> All criticisms of her latest move availed nothing. With the aid of Harley, she had her will. The power of the Whigs, as well as that of the ministry was broken and "Robin" (Harley) was rewarded by being made chancellor of the exchequer, under-treasurer, and first-lord in the newly established treasury board. At once he completed his arrangements for bringing on an election. The ensuing canvass was probably the most heated of the first half of the century, because to political discontent was added religious fanaticism and economic unrest. Under Harley's leadership, the Tories won a decisive victory,<sup>3</sup> and a Tory ministry was created which lasted until the death of the queen.

Anne's triumph was complete, as she had overthrown the Marlboroughs and the junto. Having been forced to give up her favorite minister, she had struggled hard against the appointment of Somers, but her husband's illness and her own indisposition forced her to give way. Each successive appointment thereafter met with greater delays, if not with open opposition, until she finally assumed the offensive and ordered Marlborough to appoint Hill. Foiled in this, she still kept her favorite (Mrs. Masham), through whom she communicated with Harley. The Sacheverell trial made her aware of her power, and Godolphin, like Sunderland, fell before her

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom., Anne, XIII. 113; *Townshend MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 67; *Annals* (1710), pp. 231-2; Add. MSS., 33273, f. 35; Coxe Papers, XXXII. 185; A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS., 33273, f. 66; Godolphin Papers, Add. MSS., 28055, f. 432.

<sup>3</sup> Tindal, IV. 192; *Portl. MSS.*, VII. 20; *Wentworth Papers*, p. 150.

wrath, and the result of the ensuing election assured her that she might retain her new Tory ministry in peace, without any let or hindrance from the Whigs. This is the only period of four years from 1688 to 1770, that the Tories enjoyed a complete lease of power.

## CONCLUSIONS: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REIGN

SINCE the days of Macaulay, historical writers have been prone to look upon the reigns of the Stuart sovereigns as novels or dramas, in which the hero, heroine, villain, and female accomplice are shadowed forth for the amusement of the reader. In portraying the reign of "Good Queen Anne," it has been usual to describe an innocent queen as a helpless tool in the hands of a designing couple from whose greedy clutches she was torn by the heroic activity of the Tory leader. Such a view is entirely too melodramatic, and neglects the predominant characteristics of both the hero and the heroine.

The main interest of this monograph has been domestic politics, in which the personal element has been all-important; but the true significance of the reign lies far deeper than the petty intrigues of partisan government. In the thirteen years of Anne's rule, England passed through the greatest war Europe had ever seen. English soldiers were sent to Flanders, to Germany, and even to Spain, in a vast endeavor to crush Louis XIV. Marlborough and Eugene saved Europe from a catastrophe then, just as surely as Wellington and Blücher did a century later. In this war, Marlborough did much to "retrieve" the prestige which England had lost through the trickery of her Stuart kings. At the close of the long drawn out contest, England was in a position to make herself felt in the councils of the nations, and gain an influence she has never lost from that day to this. In the peace negotiations, Great Britain played a conspicuous

part. Even if she did not secure as many advantages as she might have exacted, the treaty of Utrecht marks a great advance in England's power, even though its commercial clauses were thrown out by parliament through the organized effort of the trading classes, whose influence in party politics was rapidly becoming dominant, and whose interests now turned to developing commerce in lands beyond the seas.

Not only by war did England increase her influence; the importance of England at home and abroad was measurably augmented by the union. No longer was she harassed by the danger of an alliance of France and Scotland against her; no more need she fear that the Scots would set up a dynasty of their own. Nevertheless, the union does not mark the end of jealousies between the Scotsman and the Englishman. Indeed, it may have increased them, for the Scotsman, by his superior education and a wise use of political power, found his way into the civil service of England's growing dominions. His efficiency as well as his success aroused the envy of his fellow Briton from the south, who grumbled that the Scots were monopolizing all the better positions in the government. But this envy was personal rather than national, and much as the individual Scotsman and Englishman may have disliked each other, they were from this time to be found fighting shoulder to shoulder in an attempt to extend the bounds of the British Empire.

The most significant achievements of the reign were the victories of Marlborough and the union of England and Scotland. Next in importance was the settlement of the Hanoverian succession, which in itself was a great accomplishment. All through the reigns of William and Anne, there was always on the horizon the threat of a Stuart restoration, which would bring not only civil war but the menace of Catholicism as well. The peaceful

accession of George I, so skilfully engineered by the Whigs, sounded the death knell to Jacobite hopes. Dynastic troubles were ended, and the right of the House of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain has never since been seriously challenged, despite the abortive risings of 1715 and 1745.

The establishment of the succession was not only a monument to the Whigs, but it definitely set forth the principle that the right to seat or unseat a sovereign lay in the power of the British parliament. The position of parliament in this reign is peculiar. Always a power to be reckoned with, it was nevertheless controlled for the most part by the queen and her ministers, who dictated its policies. In a few crises like that over the passage of the Occasional Conformity Bill and the ratification of the treaty of Utrecht, the members of parliament broke loose from the shackles of both ministry and party.

The power of the crown over the House of Commons was largely due to the latter's unrepresentative character. Although not so bad as in a later day, when it was aptly styled an example of "represented ruins and unrepresented constituencies," it was far from being really representative even of those who possessed the electoral privilege. Many of the commoners owed their seats to family influence, and any independent attitude on their part was not to be expected. Even the few that were elected on a reasonably popular basis, found it greatly to their interests to accept offices in the gift of the crown. They were thus enrolled among the numbers of the "Queen's servants," who were willing to aid the court in carrying out its policies, irrespective of their merits.

Under Anne, there also developed the policy of placing all important matters of administration in the hands of a first minister. The initiation of this plan was due to the fact that the sovereign was a woman, and could not

be expected to look after the patronage and elections in person. It also had the obvious advantage of centralizing responsibility in the hands of one man in a crucial period in English history. To Godolphin, Anne gave the task of carrying on the government under her direction. He was never in reality prime minister, because he divided up the exercise of power, at first with Marlborough, and later with both Harley and the duke.

Before the duke and the lord treasurer had been long in the control of affairs, they found difficulties of all kinds confronting them. Their attempts to govern without reference to parties soon proved a failure. The Tories were entirely too strong for them, and they attempted to administer the government with the aid of the moderates of both parties. Again party ties were too strong and they were forced to form a working agreement with the nascent Whig organization. Even this plan shortly became impracticable, principally because the two ministers refused to obey the behests of the junto. Any real cohesion of the Whig leaders with the lord treasurer and the duke was impossible, and this lack of unity in the ministerial ranks gave Harley his opportunity to overthrow the Godolphin ministry in 1710.

The Tories, who had been disgraced in the first two years of the reign, had learned their lesson. They realized for the first time the necessity of a close party organization under a leader who could demand obedience. The adoption of this plan brought them victory at the polls in 1710, and a four years' lease of power. It also permitted the queen to select a leading minister entirely to her liking, whom they followed obediently, although not always willingly, until the close of the reign. The difference in the ministry of Harley and that of Godolphin lay in the fact that Godolphin was a minister above parties, whereas Harley was the minister of a single

party to which he could appeal for aid when difficulties confronted him.

Harley's ministry shows that party organizations were becoming more fixed. A group of party leaders became differentiated; party membership attained reasonable stability, and party principles assumed an increasingly definite form. Before his ministry, the Tories suffered from the lack of organization and adequate leadership. The Whigs had been held together by the political ability and ingenuity of the men who made up the *junto*. Their need was for a single leader, because no one of the five seemed able to make his personality felt above that of the other four. When they had been forced into seclusion for four years by the intrigues of Harley, the Whigs had sufficient leisure to reflect upon the weaknesses of their party. They did their best to remedy them, and so far succeeded that at Anne's death they were able to seize the power from the hand of the Tories and retain unbroken their ascendancy under such leaders as Walpole and Newcastle until George III broke their power.

The gradual development of party organizations was accompanied by a greatly increased interest in elections. The four elections from 1702 to 1710 were of more importance than any held since 1679, because upon their outcome depended to some degree the continuance of the war. The importance of the commercial classes in politics steadily increased. In each succeeding election, the English people manifested more independence at the polls, a characteristic which boded ill for the future of the political manager, but had little immediate effect beyond increasing the price of seats, and consequently the amount of corruption in borough elections.

Although the tendency of the latter part of the reign was to emphasize the party rather than the individual, the personal element in English politics was its dominant



feature in the first eight years, on account of the influence of the sovereign whose personality stamps the reign. Being a woman, courtiers did not anticipate that she would take any interest in politics. In this they were much mistaken. Anne was the last English sovereign to refuse to sanction a bill passed by parliament. She not only made it a point to be present at the meetings of the Privy Council and cabinet council, but repeatedly attended parliament when important measures were pending. She paid careful attention to the crown patronage, and frequently named the men who should fill important offices in the government. In all her activity, she never sought to show her authority unnecessarily, for she always preferred the substance of power to the appearance of it. Whenever possible, her disposition was to avoid responsibility, a characteristic which was accentuated by the critical condition of her health.

However, Anne never attempted to shift responsibility for any act, when her own prerogative was concerned. Whenever her power was touched, she was always alert. In cases where her authority had been flouted, she was prone to be vindictive. In turn, practically every important figure in the political arena injured her feelings. The first was Rochester, her only important relative who remained loyal to the government, who, becoming angry because Anne failed to recognize his supposedly transcendent ability, neglected to treat his niece with the respect due his sovereign, and was forced not only to quit the ministry, but the Privy Council as well. Nottingham was an ardent Highflier of whom she was very fond. He presumed too much upon her fanatical devotion to the church, and, like Rochester, soon found himself without a place at her council board. Buckingham, her old favorite, relied upon her friendship to excuse his intriguing against Godolphin, and he was forthwith cast into

outer darkness. The attachment of Seymour to the church Anne loved so well did not avail to save him from disgrace, when he joined with Rochester and Nottingham.

Anne's nearest and dearest friend was Sarah Jennings, later Duchess of Marlborough. Nevertheless, Lady Marlborough's arrogance and discourtesy not only cost her the friendship of the playmate of her youth, but led to her public disgrace at the hands of the woman she had helped to make queen. Sarah's son-in-law resembled her in disposition. He, too, treated Anne with open marks of disrespect and was dismissed at the first favorable opportunity. Like Sunderland, Somers had been forced upon her, and he met a similar fate. Even Godolphin, in the course of time, became querulous in his behavior, and, despite his faithfulness, was dismissed with all the possible signs of disgrace. Marlborough, careful as he was not to offend the queen, found it impossible to champion his wife's cause and retain Anne's confidence; consequently, as soon as the military situation would permit, he was summarily dismissed from the head of the very army over which he had sought to be a military dictator. Harley had gained the closest friendship of the queen. In 1708 she made a hard fight to keep him in the ministry; in 1710 he became her leading minister, but in 1714 she consented to part with him, because his habit of coming to the council in a high state of intoxication reflected upon her administration. Bolingbroke had forced Harley's resignation, and fully expected to succeed him; yet almost with her dying breath, Anne refused to dignify as head of the ministry a man who prided himself on being one of the greatest libertines of his age, and she chose Shrewsbury instead.

Throughout the long list of statesmen, not one had offended her who did not live to repent of his actions. While Anne never forgot a favor, she as zealously re-

membered her injuries, and never failed to wreak her vengeance on the offenders. And curiously enough, it was not until she had punished all her enemies and rewarded all her friends that "Good Queen Anne" was gathered to her fathers.

With the possible exception of the queen, the most interesting woman in England during the first quarter of the eighteenth century was Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Historians for more than three generations have assumed that she was the power behind the throne, while in reality, neither the duke nor the queen would permit her to exercise any great amount of political authority. When she did attempt to interfere in political affairs, she was brought into conflict with Anne, who was forced to dismiss her.

Godolphin was far more than the political agent of the Marlboroughs. He did act in conjunction with the duke, but rarely called the duchess in counsel on important political matters. Early in the reign, Godolphin's need of political advice led him to ask Harley for aid. As long as he relied on the secretary, the lord treasurer experienced no difficulty in dealing with parliament and the junto, but as soon as Harley was dismissed, he found it almost impossible to carry out his policies.

Throughout Anne's reign, Marlborough, when in England, was associated with Godolphin, but he exerted more power than the lord treasurer because he possessed greater political astuteness. He might have exercised greater authority, had he chosen, but his interests were not political, and he realized that his unpopularity precluded his playing the part of a political manager. He fell from power, not on account of his own shortcomings, but because of Godolphin's ineptitude and his wife's tactlessness.

Harley stands as the first politician of the reign.

Attaining political prominence at its beginning, he increased his influence until the "triumvirate" was formed, probably as early as 1703. From that time until his fall five years later, he was a moving political force at the cabinet councils. Forced into retirement against Anne's wishes, he at once began to intrigue against the ministry, and after two years of sleepless activity, he succeeded in displacing the men who had raised him to power, and in forcing the junto into retirement.

The political importance of another man has been greatly neglected, probably because he worked so secretly under Harley's directions. Defoe was a host in himself. Not only was he a pamphleteer and journalist of the first rank, but he was an efficient political agent, without whom Harley could never have accomplished what he did in the political arena.

From the constitutional point of view, the reign is important, not alone for the development of the office of first minister, but in the increasing influence exerted by the small group, here called the "triumvirate," in preparing government policies for the meetings of the more formal cabinet councils. These cabinet councils increased in number and importance during the early years of the reign, displaying a constant tendency towards unity of action, in the face of the rapidly growing power of the two political organizations.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CITATIONS

Since many of the works cited exist in numerous editions and others have long titles so characteristic of the eighteenth century, the following abbreviations have been employed for the sake of clearness and brevity.

*A. H. R.* *American Historical Review*.

*Angliæ Notitia.* Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliæ Notitia, or the Present State of England*.

*Annals.* Abel Boyer, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne digested into Annals* (1704-1714).

*Add. MSS.* Additional Manuscripts, British Museum.

*Bath MSS.* *Bath Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.

*B. M.* The British Museum, London.

*Bodl.* The Bodleian Library, Oxford.

*Boyer.* Abel Boyer, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (1722).

*Burnet.* Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time* (1823).

*Burton.* J. Hill Burton, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (1880).

*C. J.* *The Journals of the House of Commons*.

*Chamberlen.* Paul Chamberlen, *Impartial History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne* (1738).

*Coke.* Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England* (1719-1729).

*Coke MSS.* (Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports) otherwise known as *Cowper Manuscripts*.

*Colville.* (Mrs.) Arthur Colville, *Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (1904).

*Conduct.* *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough* (1742).

*Cooke.* George Wingrove Cooke, *History of Party* (1836).

*Coxe.* William Coxe, *Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough* (1847).

*Coxe Papers.* Coxe Papers, Additional Manuscripts, British Museum.

*Cunningham.* Alexander Cunningham, *The History of Great Britain from the Revolution to 1714* (1787).

*D. N. B.* *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

*E. H. R.* *English Historical Review*.

*H. M. C.* Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

*Hearne.* C. E. Doble & D. W. Rannie (editors), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne* (1885-1895).

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CITATIONS 405

- James. G. P. R. James (editor), *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III* (1841).
- Kent. C. B. R. Kent, *Early History of the Tories* (1908).
- Leadam. I. S. Leadam, *Political History of England*, vol. IX (1909).
- Lecky. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878-1890).
- L. J. *The Journals of the House of Lords*.
- Lord. W. F. Lord, "The Development of Political Parties During the Reign of Queen Anne," *Transactions Royal Historical Society* (1900).
- Luttrell. N. Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs* (1857).
- Maepherston. James Macpherson, *Original Papers* (1775).
- Macaulay. T. B. Macaulay, *History of England* (Firth ed.).
- Mahon. Philip Henry Stanhope (Lord Mahon), *History of England 1701-1713* (1870).
- Marlb. MSS. *Marlborough Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, VIII.
- Morrison. Alfred Morrison, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Collections* (edited by A. W. Thibadeau, 1883).
- Other Side. *Other Side of the Question*, etc. (1742).
- Priv. Cor. *Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough* (1838).
- Py. Hist. Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* (1810).
- Portl. MSS. *Portland Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, XIII-XV.
- P. R. O. Public Record Office, London.
- Reid. S. Reid, *John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough* (1914).
- Remusat. C. F. Remusat, *Histoire d'Angleterre au Huitième Siècle* (1857).
- Rijks Archief. *Archief van der Heim, Radtpensionarius Heinsius, Algemeine Rijks Archief*, den Haag.
- Ryan. P. F. W. Ryan, *Queen Anne and Her Court* (1908).
- Salomon. Felix Salomon, *Geschichte des Letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England* (1894).
- S. P. Dom. State Papers Domestic, Public Record Office.
- S. P. Foreign. State Papers Foreign, Public Record Office.
- Sharp. Sharp, *The Life of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (1825).
- Shrewsbury Cor. William Coxe, *Shrewsbury Correspondence, Private and Original* (1821).
- Strickland. (Miss) Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* (1842-1852).
- Thomas. E. Thomas, *The Life of the Duke of Marlborough* (1839).
- Thomson. (Mrs.) A. T. Thomson, *Memoirs of the Duchess of Marlborough* (1839).
- Timberland. Ebenezer Timberland (publisher), *The History of the Proceedings of the House of Lords, 1660-1742* (1742).
- Von Noorden. *Europäische Geschichte in Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (1870).

Wyon. F. W. Wyon, *History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne* (1876).

In most instances, quotations and book titles have been modernized in capitalization and punctuation in consonance with the canons of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports. Dates are given according to New Style.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The works noted below are those only which were found most useful and suggestive, as the writer has in preparation a comprehensive bibliography of the reign of Queen Anne. Meanwhile, the student will find an excellent essay upon authorities in Hunt and Poole, *Political History of England*, vol. IX, 1702-1760, by I. S. Leadam, pp. 507-9.

### I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

For the manuscripts in the British Museum, the catalogues and indexes of the Harleian, Lansdowne, and Additional Manuscripts collections render nearly all the materials readily accessible, while the voluminous subject catalogue makes available the manuscripts on any particular topic. At the Bodleian, the *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, prepared by F. A. Madan, is useful, but the valuable Carte Manuscripts are more accessible through the Chronological Catalogue (in manuscript) prepared by Mr. Edward Edwards. A guide to the valuable collection at Blenheim Castle may be found in the Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Unfortunately the only aid to the rich archives at the Hague is in manuscript, but it is of considerable value. The archives at the Public Record Office are more conveniently accessible through excellent printed indexes. The bibliographies at the close of the sketches in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are, in the main, of great value. The chapter bibliographies in the *Cam-*



*bridge Modern History* are also well selected, and those in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* are most satisfactory for the literary side.

Some bibliographies on particular phases of the reign are available. Miss Alice E. Murray's *History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between Ireland and England since 1688* contains a carefully selected list of works on Anglo-Irish history. For students of diplomatic history the Historical Manuscripts Commission has done a valuable service in its Eighteenth Report (pp. 391-4) by arranging chronologically both the materials which it had already published and those remaining in manuscript in the British Museum. G. L. Wickham-Legg and J. F. Chance have each prepared bibliographies on diplomacy and foreign affairs. Coxe's *Marlborough* contains a list of works on military history. For the general religious aspects of the reign, the student is referred to F. W. Wilson's *The Importance of the Reign . . . in Church History*. The Sacheverell trial is best studied with the aid of Mr. Madan's comprehensive bibliography. For earlier materials, the *Bibliotheca Britannica* (London, 1817), 2 vols., contains a topical list of works issued in England up to the date of publication. The titles of pamphlets bearing on the earlier years of the reign are found in the Lincoln's Inn pamphlet catalogue. More important as a guide is Edward Arber's *Term Catalogues*, 3 vols., which contains book lists published each quarter during the reign to 1709, with a few lists for the first quarter of 1711. Still more valuable is S. J. Reid's *Catalogue of Historical Tracts, 1561-1800*, found in the Redpath Library of McGill University. At Yale University is a manuscript catalogue of "College Pamphlets," while the Wagner Collection there is arranged chronologically, as are many of the volumes of pamphlets at the Bodleian.

## II. THE SOURCE MATERIALS

*Unpublished Manuscripts*

The unpublished manuscripts of this reign are abundant, and some of those in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Bodleian, and the Rijks Archief have been utilized in this work. The Coxe, Ellis, Godolphin, and Mackintosh Papers in the British Museum were found most useful, and in the Bodleian, the Carte Manuscripts for the period proved to be unstudied material. Many items previously inaccessible are found in the Public Record Office, and much new material was discovered in the Rijks Archief at the Hague. Not only were many particular statements of interest uncovered in these different archives, but an idea was gained of how such individual statesmen as Nottingham, Harley, and Godolphin conducted their business as cabinet ministers.

Archief van der Heim, Radtpensionarius Heinsius, Rijks Archief den Haag, furnished the letters to the Dutch government of Hermitage, Buys, Vryberge, and others. They contain much valuable material relative to English political affairs, but little of which has hitherto been used. Vols. 26<sup>A</sup>, 36<sup>B</sup>, 41<sup>B</sup>, 44<sup>B</sup>, 47<sup>B</sup>, 50<sup>B</sup>, and 52 were particularly valuable. The Carte Manuscripts (Bodl.) are mainly concerned with an earlier period, but there are a dozen large volumes dealing with Anne's reign. They are strong on Jacobite intrigues. Some of the letters are printed in Macpherson's *Original Papers*. Coxe Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 9078-9283, are really transcripts made by Archdeacon Coxe and his helpers in the preparation of his accurate memoirs of Marlborough and others. Coxe's comments add value to many of the letters he copied. Egerton Manuscripts (B. M.), 1695, contains some original letters of the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Duchess of Marlborough. Ellis Papers, Addi-

tional Manuscripts (B. M.), 28875-28956, contain official and private correspondence of John Ellis, assistant secretary of state for a considerable period. Most of the letters refer to the reign of William, but many deal with Anne's reign. Godolphin Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 28052, 28055-70, consist of the correspondence of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin. These manuscripts make up a part of the large collection of Godolphin-Osborne Papers. Hanover Papers, from the Stowe Manuscripts (B. M.), 222-227, are of great value for the diplomatic relations of Great Britain and Hanover (1705-1714). A large part of them are printed by Macpherson in his *Original Papers*. Harleian Manuscripts (B. M.), vols. 2262, 6584, 7526, contain scattered bits on the political life of the time. Vol. 6584 consists mainly of the original draft of Burnet's *History of His Own Times*. Hatton-Finch Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 29548-96, are made up of the correspondence of the families of Hatton and Finch. Most of the letters deal with an earlier period, but a considerable number are of importance for this reign. Lansdowne Manuscripts (B. M.), 1236, contains interesting letters from Queen Anne, Sunderland, Sophia, and the Elector of Hanover. Folios 547 and 548 deal with controverted elections. Lister Manuscripts (Bodl.) has a few letters of Sarah Jennings to her uncle, Dr. Martin Lister. Mackintosh Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 34487 to 34526, are a collection of transcripts by James Mackintosh. Vols. VII-XIII contain copies of the dispatches of the French representatives in England to their home government, 1710-1714. Vol. XXIX has several letters of Mrs. Masham to Harley, most of which have been printed in the *Portland Manuscripts*. Vol. XXIII contains extracts from the Blenheim Papers. Nottingham Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 29588-9,

29594-5, contain letters addressed to Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, an important political figure in the early years of Anne's reign. His correspondence is valuable for the light it sheds upon the cabinet council. The Privy Council Register (vols. LXXIX-LXXXV) is the official record of the meetings of the Privy Council, but, unfortunately, it is but little more than a formal statement of the things done at the meetings. State Papers, Domestic, Anne (P. R. O.), 27 vols., contain much fugitive material. State Papers, Foreign, Foreign Ministers (in England), consist mainly of the stereotyped formal notes of foreign ministers to the English government. State Papers, Foreign, German States, Hanover and Prussia (P. R. O.), contain the letters of the representatives of the English government at the Hanoverian and Prussian courts to the secretaries of state in London. Stepney Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 7058-9, 7061-79, are for the most part letters to and from George Stepney, probably the greatest English diplomat of his time. Strafford Papers, Additional Manuscripts (B. M.), 22183-22267, contain papers relating to the Wentworth and Johnson families, and deal with the official and political life of the Earl of Strafford, an important English minister in the latter part of the reign. Wharton Manuscripts (Bodl.) is made up mostly of transcripts of the sources and secondary accounts dealing with the Wharton family. Willis Manuscripts (Bodl.) consists of papers collected by Brooks Willis and are useful on parliamentary elections.

*Correspondence, etc.*

Since the publication of the more recent works upon the reign, the Historical Manuscripts Commission has made noteworthy contributions to the materials for this period. Particularly is this true of the *Portland*

*Manuscripts*, several volumes of which have appeared in the last twenty years. The *Bath Manuscripts*, the *Coke Manuscripts*, and the *Buccleugh Manuscripts* are also of great value. Only a few of the more recent English and German writers have had access to these and other reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which is the more unfortunate in that these reports shed considerable light on the lives of Queen Anne, Godolphin, and Harley, whose political activities cannot be understood unless these well-filled volumes are carefully studied. Several miscellaneous sources of importance have been published in the past score of years, such as Morrison's *Autograph Collection* and Hearne's *Collections*, while the biography of John Sharp has apparently been overlooked, although it was published nearly a century ago.

The *Marquis of Ailesbury Manuscripts* (H. M. C., 1897) is valuable for the information it contains regarding corruption in elections. *Marquis of Bath Manuscripts* (H. M. C., 1904) contains many important letters of Harley and Godolphin, previously unpublished. *Buccleugh Manuscripts* (H. M. C., 1913), vol. II, pt. ii, contains some of Shrewsbury's correspondence. The *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1702-3*, though disappointing because it lacks an introduction, prints carefully selected materials from all kinds of domestic papers. *Coke Manuscripts* (H. M. C., 1888-9) contains the papers of Thomas Coke, an active politician, and gives an excellent picture of the political life of the times. W. Coxe, *Private and Original Correspondence of . . . the Duke of Shrewsbury* (1821) prints, unfortunately, but few letters for Anne's reign. *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, 1705-24* (Doble and Rannie, eds., 1885-1895), 5 vols., concerns Thomas Hearne, an Oxford scholar and antiquarian, who held some semi-official position in the

Bodleian Library. His diary and the accompanying letters are most illuminative of the life of an eighteenth-century scholar. *The Letter-Books of John Hervey* (first baron of Bristol) (1884), 3 vols., together with his *Diary*, sheds light upon the business affairs of the gentry. *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard Hill* (W. Blackley, ed., 1885), 2 vols., brings one into touch with diplomatic affairs in southern Europe. *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III, 1696-1708* (G. P. R. James, ed., 1841), 3 vols., is suggestive and important. *The Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (2d ed., 1838), 2 vols., is of inestimable value for the inner history of political intrigue from 1705 to 1710. The *Marlborough Manuscripts* (H. M. C., 1881) is very important in showing the relations of the queen with the duchess and the duke, as well as with Harley and Godolphin. *Catalogue of the Autograph Letters in the Collection formed by Alfred Morrison* (A. W. Thibaudau, ed., privately printed, 1883), 13 vols., prints in full important letters of Harley, Marlborough, and the queen. It is a very rare and valuable work. *Portland Manuscripts*, vols. II-VIII (H. M. C., 1892-1902), contains the correspondence of the Harley family and is of great service in understanding the political life of the epoch. The correspondence herein contained between Harley and Godolphin is extensive and valuable. *Wentworth Papers* (J. J. Cartwright, ed., 1883) contains the letters of Peter Wentworth, the besotted brother of the Earl of Strafford, and is useful in connection with the election of 1710.

#### *Memoirs and Historical Works*

By far the greater number of secondary works have been based upon the *Parliamentary History*, and the histories of Boyer and Burnet. Indeed, most of the nearly

contemporary works are also largely dependent upon these three sources.

Abel Boyer, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (1722), is a species of abridgement of the *Annals* and *Political State* referred to below. It is dull and uninteresting, but contains many important facts, particularly in connection with the official and military side of the reign. Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time* (1823), 6 vols., is the best edition of this famous work, and contains notes by Swift, Hardwicke, Onslow, and Dartmouth. It is rather a species of memoir than a true history, and its bias is to some extent corrected by reference to the original draft, which has been edited by H. C. Foxcroft, in a *Supplement to Burnet* (1902). Edmund Calamy, *Historical Account of My Own Life* (1829), 2 vols., is the autobiography of a staunch non-conformist, and casts light upon the lives of the Dissenters. Paul Chamberlen, *An Impartial History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne* (1738) is one of the best contemporary histories. Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England during the Reigns of the Stuarts* (1719-29), 3 vols., is another excellent work. *The Private Diary of William, Lord Cowper* (1823), is particularly important for information dealing with the cabinet council. The only copy available in the United States is, as far as I know, in the Athenæum, Boston. Narcissus Luttrell's *A Brief Relation of State Affairs, 1678-1714* (1857), 6 vols., is a sort of tri-weekly diary of important happenings, and has proved of much value. *The Account of the Conduct of Sarah, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough* (1742), is really the autobiography of the duchess and is invaluable for the study of the reign. Thomas Sharp's *Life of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (1825), 2 vols., is mainly made up of extracts from the archbishop's diary, and shows how intimate he was with the queen.

*Periodicals and Pamphlets*

Practically all the leading newspapers of the period were party organs, engaged primarily in promoting the interests of political parties. Beyond utilizing the writings of Swift, historians of the Stuart period, Macaulay alone excepted, have made very little use of these papers. Yet, the pages of the *Examiner*, the *Medley*, the *Whig Examiner*, the *Rehearsal*, and even the *Tatler*, are instructive and amusing in their reflections upon the vicissitudes of the political game. Defoe's *Review*, issued tri-weekly (1704-1711), 8 vols., has been in particular most suggestive on commercial and financial matters. It acts as a notable supplement and corrective to the letters of John Drummond in the *Portland Manuscripts*, and to the letters of Bolingbroke. All these, together with the reports of trade and finance found in the tracts of the time and the pages of the *Evening Post*, give one a view of the period which is not obtainable elsewhere. For the official and semi-official notices, the *London Gazette* and the *Postman* are valuable. Equally so is Edward and John Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia* (published almost every second year, 1669-1755), which is a compendium of useful information regarding affairs in general, including the government and its officials. Abel Boyer's *History of the Reign digested into Annals*, is a review of important events month by month, and was succeeded by the *Political State*, which is fuller and more satisfactory.

Comparatively little use has hitherto been made of the extensive pamphlet materials of the reign. Such writers as Addison, Arbuthnot, Swift, Defoe, Thomas Burnet, and Leslie wrote extensively on all phases of English affairs. Fortunately, both American and British libraries are rich in these tracts. At Yale University is the



Wagner Collection of economic pamphlets, which is supplemented by hundreds of volumes of "College Pamphlets." McGill and Harvard Universities have large numbers also. None of these libraries, of course, possess such valuable collections as the British Museum or the Bodleian, but their collections are far more extensive than it is usually supposed. John Arbuthnot's *Law is a Bottomless Pit* (1712) is a covert attack upon the French and Dutch, as well as a discussion of the peace preliminaries. Defoe's *Conduct of Parties in England* (1712) maintains that the junto first undermined Marlborough and Godolphin and thus made it possible for the Tories to overthrow them. His *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1703) thoroughly aroused the Anglicans against him. *A Supplement to Faults on Both Sides* (1710) seems to be moderately Tory, or moderately Whig, and the writer hoped for a coalition ministry under Harley as chief minister. James Drake's *The Memorial of the Church of England* (1705) attacks the ministry for its attitude on occasional conformity. *Faults on Both Sides* (1710) is very moderate and fair in its tone, and brought forth many replies and rejoinders. *Other Side of the Question* is a caustic criticism of *An Account of the Conduct*. *A Review of a late Treatise, etc.* (1742), is a bitter reflection upon the career of the Duchess of Marlborough while in public employment. *The Somers' Tracts*, 13 vols., contains many pamphlets of the reign of Anne. John Toland's *Memorial of the State of Great Britain* (1705) is a reply to a *Memorial of the Church of England*.

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